

EXCLUSIVE: LEWIS MacKENZIE'S OUTSPOKEN SARAJEVO DIARY

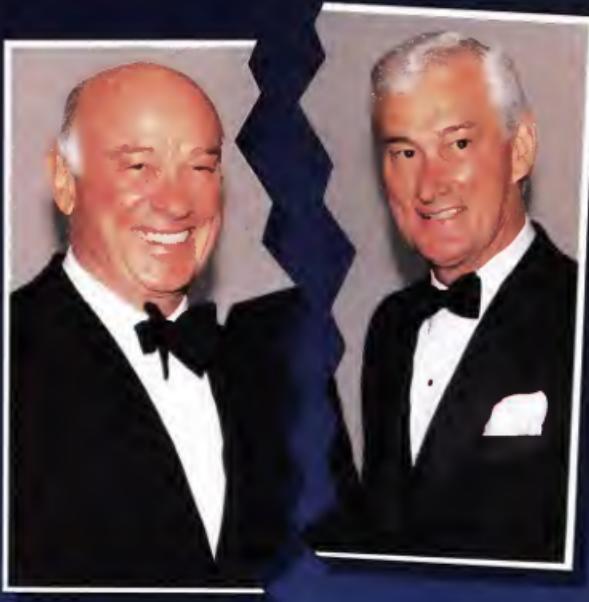
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER 6, 1993 \$2.50

FAMILY FEUD

.....
**The McCains
are fighting
about who will
reign over their
global food
empire. Will it
wind up being
an outsider?**



Harrison McCain

Wallace McCain

Legendary
On stage in the '30s.
On screen in the '50s.
Legendarydancers, actors,
celebrities with style. All in
those cotton khakis made
to move. Khakis just like
those we make for you.
Gap khakis. Traditional,
Easy Fit, Classic Fit.



Santana. Photo by Scott Kneller.



The silent partner

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PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE FOR CANADIAN PRESS
PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL R. RYAN FOR CANADIAN PRESS
PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE FOR CANADIAN PRESS
PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE FOR CANADIAN PRESS



Family feud

32 In 1986, Harrison and Wallace McCain built a frozen french fries plant in their tiny home town of Claremont, N.B. Over the next 1½ decades, the two brothers built a \$3-billion global frozen food empire that they supervised from adjoining offices in the plant. But last week, Wallace filed a lawsuit alleging that Harrison was trying to push him out of the company, casting a cloud of uncertainty over one of Canada's largest family fortunes

Sarajevo diary

24 Death threats, escorting politicians through the mayhem of mortar fire and witnessing the slaughter of civilians was part of daily life for Canadian Forces Maj.-Gen. Lewis MacKenzie when he commanded a UN mission in Sarajevo last year. Exclusive excerpts from his memoirs also show the outspokenness that infuriated MacKenzie's top political masters.



Kids, clothes and conformity

44 Far Canadian teens of means, rifling through racks for cool clothing is part of the annual ritual of returning to classes. The back-to-school selection ranges from color-coordinated hip gear to frilly frocks and slacks that harken back to the days of Edwardian dandies. The common theme is the price: students can easily drop thousands of dollars to put together a single outfit



PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAWRENCE FOR CANADIAN PRESS

LETTERS

Asset transfer

Of course, the youngest premier can be sued. ("Newfoundland can the province be sued?" Cover Special Report, Aug. 23). The solution to this problem is so simple. The key would be to have Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells run in an independent office of prime minister. Then fully regain the self-government of Newfoundland by placing them in the Atlantic time zone so they can't be beat of the same time as the rest of Canada. And among other things, move all federal government offices to St. John's, the senior federal headquarters to Carter Brooks and the Super Agency head quarters to Come By Chance. Regainous all hydroelectric power deals between Quebec and Newfoundland. As a writer from a provincial capital who knows the social dynamics of not having even a CPC cabinet, I will present to you for debate and will assure you all a lot of willing workers.

Arthur Knight,
Pittmead

'Cod collapse'

In the cover story we learn that federal scientists are still trying to determine the cause of the cod collapse. I suggest that they stop wasting their time and our money. Like many environmental disasters, the decimation of the Atlantic fish stocks is indication that human numbers and greed have exceeded the planet's carrying capacity. Newfoundlanders who leave the Rock join a growing global tide of environmental refugees. When do we start accepting responsibility for our impact?

Dr. Thomas Delaney,
Whistler, B.C.



Newfoundland part self-eaten

An important aspect of the character of Newfoundlanders that was not highlighted in your discussion of Canada's warmest province in the very young nation of its people. According to the Canadian Census for 1991, Newfoundlanders are the most gregarious Canadians. In 1991, residents gave an average of \$220 per person compared with \$128 per person in Ontario, \$85 per person in British Columbia and \$88 per person in Quebec. There is a lot we can learn from those who are in such a spirit and kind area as Newfoundlanders.

John P. Devaney,
Gloucester, Mass.

Good Guides

I was extremely upset to read the article "A modern story" (Threads, Aug. 30). I felt that your attitude towards the international Girl Guide camp held in Guelph, Ont., this past July was very negative. Although money is needed for camps and programs, your article made it look as though the Guelph organization is cheating girls out of the profits made by the selling of cookies. Girls in my unit have been chosen to spread camps all over Canada and some parts of the world. Our unit has helped to cover the largest portion of these travel expenses and come less than \$10 000.

fortunate that your article did not cover the positive aspects of Guelph '91. It was a great opportunity to meet other girls from around the world who share common interests.

Christine Bowditch,
Lower Sackville, N.S.

Nightcap

Your editorial "Give them back the night" was right on (Aug. 16). I feel the lesson learned is on Aug. 22, but I did make the popcorn movie nights at 9:30, as my wife and I to enjoy with The National/TV Journal. The 9 p.m. time slot is too early, interfere with too many other activities and is rarely watched in my house any more. I'll wait another, don't I?

Grant Moore,
Frederick, Md.

Clear-cut view

Peter C. Newman and the people who share his beliefs about saving the trees need to open their eyes to the world and see that there are many more worthy causes to get involved in, such as the preservation of human lives. Trees are great, but human life is more important. What I mean is I do not want to see environmental decisions at every management, but I do believe that cutting trees is essential to the economic health of this country. What do these crooked politicians expect us to do? Come on, people, let's get real. There are trees we are cutting down, they grow back.

Steve W. Makowski Jr.,
Nashua, N.H.

Peter C. Newman is correct. If any part of these thousand-year-old forests is destroyed, Canada and Macmillan Bloedel will suffer by environmental backlash in the eyes of the world.

Alvin McCullough,
Winnipeg

Letters may be condensed. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone. Write Letters to the Editor, The Star, 35 St. George St., Suite 1000, Toronto, Ont. M5A 1L7. Or fax to 416-599-7770.



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OPENING NOTES



Sea Spa project: body swings

THE FOG, THE SEAWEED, THE STARS

It is doubtful, as a top-shredder, that in Nov. Scott, Bar il Boga's Herring, a real estate developer from Augsburg, Germany, has his way, much as he wishes an actress Melina Gellbe, Oscar Whirly and the German king may soon be kicking to the tiny Aegean grottoes. 40 km from Rhodes, these stars have shrewdly requested detailed information about Sea Spa Nov. Scott, a \$77 million project. Herring's building on 240 acres near the town of Hellebets (population 363) Herring, who she was attracted to Apollonia by a shrewd supply of sex appeal and is now acutely angry, we told Nov. Scott that when the sparsely populated island will provide an exotic 28-year contract with the undistinguished Masonic Post Office. Masons is at charge of letting out to foreign athletes wall spaces that the post office's 460 offices and the sites of its 850 delivery trucks. The posh customises or for its Swedes, the second-longest brewery, Speerings Breydon St. Speerings has placed billion-dollar bids for its Great Eastern beer on about 100 Masonic postal trucks. And so

we went to buy an open in Mexico? Just off New International, a Swedish marketing firm that has an exclusive 28-year contract with the undistinguished Masonic Post Office. Masons is at charge of letting out to foreign athletes wall spaces that the post office's 460 offices and the sites of its 850 delivery trucks. The posh customises or for its Swedes, the second-longest brewery, Speerings Breydon St. Speerings has placed billion-dollar bids for its Great Eastern beer on about 100 Masonic postal trucks. And so

WORD FOR WORD

State rebellion

In less than a month, three U.S. state department officials have resigned over American policy toward the conflict in Bosnia. The latest is Stephen Walker, an eight-year veteran of the Foreign Service and an expert on Eastern European affairs. Last week, in his two-page letter of resignation to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, 59-year-old Walker accused the White of allowing generals in Bosnia-Moravagora and of unwillingly endorsing the current peace talks under way in Geneva among Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats. Europe.

"Our policies are misguided, worthless and dangerous," he wrote. "... reflective at most today, because I can no longer count on U.S. support for a diplomatic process that legitimates genocide and aggression." Germany is taking place again in Europe, yet we, the European Community and the rest of the international community stand by and watch. We have been publicly committed to Bush's interpretation of territorial integrity and self-determination, yet we are not fully apprised of his forcible dismemberment and division along ethnic lines. ... The United States has a full menu of options at its disposal, even at this late hour, fitting the arms embargo against Bosnia the use of U.S. and allied power to impose 'Bosnian' compliance, as in the wise range of diplomatic options that we have not even begun to explore fully."

Through rain, and snow, and sun, and here's your beer



Christopher: resignation

PLUM LOGO

A picture. She says you are worth a thousand words. And as a federal election approached in Canada, will see a lot of those pictures, particularly this year, to reader because the sun has set and replaced maple leaves. Marchers have turned their faces toward their former homes and their former homes. The party was to draw its

down and said, "OK, what are we gonna do?" Let's do a maple leaf—it's got to be in there somewhere—so let's put a maple leaf on a maple leaf" says Canada—the name of the country—and Canada's New Democrats "I know it's in there, but the Bloc Quebecois logo would be an easy choice. If we're moving toward Liberal, like Quebecois—yes, after that it gets really tough."

Alan Karrer, international events director, says "Canada's New Democrats" know it's in there, but the Bloc Quebecois logo would be an easy choice. If we're moving toward Liberal, like Quebecois—yes, after that it gets really tough."

John Bilezikian, writer and director, *Search & Search*: "The worst is the Bloc Quebecois one. It separates right is the middle. That's probably intended—they say, Hey, we're going to an after-election. It breaks all the rules—although there is nothing wrong with breaking rules, if they're broken properly."

"The Liberal logo is very similar to what they've used in the past. It's a unified graphic, it works. The NDP one is weak. It doesn't have a strong graphic dynamic. There's a effort in the recent to make it look a bit. The graphic style has a dated look about it to me—it's something that was done in the 1950s and 1960s a lot, but the overall website is good. The Reform logo is really nowhere. It looks like it could be done on a manila sheet—and I don't want to put down other shops. There are people in Canada who are world-class in design but it doesn't look like they've had a go at this."

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PASSAGES

Onboard: Steve Urkel, Michael Richards and others, with sedulous conspiracy in the Feb. 28 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City. The 56-year-old Michael, a kindly-entertainer cleric, was in blind and soft-ticks from diabetes, has been doing community work for more than a decade that he supports terrorism in Egypt and the United States. Last week, he is expected to file a plan of not guilty in the Federal District Court of Manhattan. Egyptian officials said that they want the shah extradited to stand trial for murder and conspiracy, including charges related to a 1980 plot to assassinate Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Ohio: Ontario manager and prospecting pioneer Vicki MacMillan, 50, is in Toronto hospital. One of few women in her field when she began, she became president of the Prospectors and Developers Association and was inducted into the Mining Hall of Fame two years ago. MacMillan was a central figure in a mining strike in the 1980s—the so-called Wildcat Strike—and was a key figure in the formation of stock exchange transactions in 1985. She received a full gallantry.

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BEST-SELLERS

- 1. *The Bridges of Madison County*, Robert Weller (1)
- 2. *The Sea of Stories*, Vicki Colletta (2)
- 3. *Without Reserve*, Vicki Colletta (3)
- 4. *Reckless Light*, Vicki Colletta (4)
- 5. *The Night Manager*, John le Carré (5)
- 6. *Like Water for Chocolate*, Laura Esquivel (6)
- 7. *The American Way of Death*, Jeffrey Arnett (7)
- 8. *The Glitter, the Coal*, Connie
- 9. *Pretty Curves for Her Men*, Dorothy Draper (9)
- 10. *A Suitable Boy*, Yashna Sule

1. *Persepolis* (cont'd)
Completed by Natascha

- 1. *Apple Body, Thornton Wilder*, French (1)
- 2. *Woman Who Ran with the Wolves*, Christa Kallir (2)
- 3. *Crime Against Nature* (3)
- 4. *The Great Reckoning*, Jeanne D'Arcy and Leslie (4)
- 5. *Like Water for Chocolate*, Laura Esquivel (5)
- 6. *Curious Case of Benjamin Button*, F. Scott Fitzgerald (6)
- 7. *Mythic (Mythic, Robert Fulghum)* (7)
- 8. *The Dance of Desires*, Robert Lowell (8)
- 9. *A Brief History of Pickle Surprise*, John Greenleaf Whittier (9)
- 10. *Post-Capitalist Reading*, Peter Drucker (10)
- 11. *Love & Friendship*, Keri Green (11)

POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box office receipts during the seven days that ended on Aug. 12. (In brackets: number of screens/weeks showing)

1. <i>The Kite Runner</i> (14/0)	\$13,800	8. <i>The Secret Garden</i> (6/2)	\$10,000
2. <i>Hard Target</i> (18/1)	\$10,800	9. <i>The Firm</i> (2/5)	\$4,000
3. <i>Armageddon Park</i> (10/0)	\$8,800	10. <i>Robin Hood: Men in Tights</i> (16/3)	\$30,300
4. <i>Flying Home</i> (9/0)	\$4,000	11. <i>Heart and Souls</i> (15/2)	\$10,200
5. <i>Pretty Curves for Her Men</i> , Dorothy Draper (9)	\$4,000	12. <i>In the Line of Fire</i> (34/7)	\$10,800

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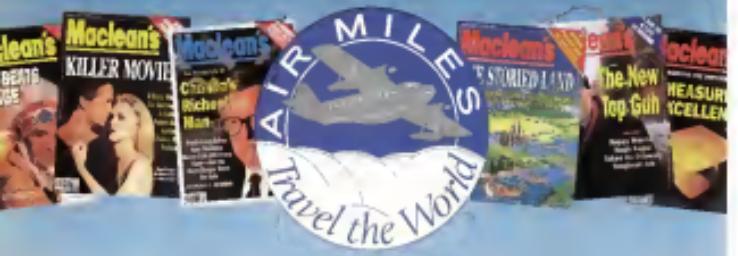
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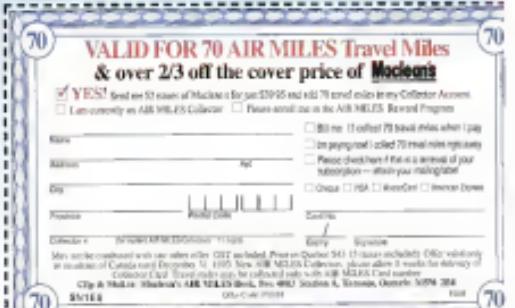
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AN AMERICAN VIEW



But their expert authorities say On the tape, police report, Disney is seen wearing James Jordan's gold shoes. Green flashes a National Basketball Association championship ring and to have been given Jordan by his son.

Death by the side of Highway 74

BY FRED BRUNING

How do you protect yourself from a couple of whacked-out kids with nothing better to do than hide in the bushes with a .38?

ended a funeral in Wilmington, N.C., Jordan, 4, was driving late at night toward Charlotte and home. He grew weary and turned to the shoulder of U.S. Highway 74 near Interstate 95. The spot was only 100 m from a bridge and must have sensed safety enough to leave his passenger side window down. At approximately 8:30 p.m., police say, Larry

These concerned the United States in court for human habitation surely will have their suspicions confirmed by the murder of James Jordan, father of Michael Jordan, perhaps the world's most famous athlete and, so, such an accomplished hoodlum. Travelling in North Carolina, the older Jordan was killed by a single round from a .357 pistol as he rested in his car at the courthouse. In custody are two 18-year-olds—llowers with criminal records who were tracked down, police said, partly because they used James Jordan's cellular phone to make calls to a sex talk-line.

What more telling indices of modern American life can be imagined than this melancholy prospect? The albatross whose whose resources cannot protect him from tragic personal loss, the fleshy and sturdy irresistible evil (in *Lexicon* terms), the easily available heroin, the teenage tough guys, the treacherous electronic communications and get, the convenience of sex delivered in a instant and by radio waves, the random quality of the murder stalk — and all this rat in New York or Hollywood, by the way, but in backwoods Iowa.

The impression left by the Jones' fateful decision is that violence and randomness and a frightening existential banality pervade the land, and maybe they do. As the century grows towards conclusion, Americans indeed are preoccupied with crime and punishment and with what a properly considered a needless decline in civil behavior. We sense danger everywhere and it haunts us, makes us run from one another, envelopes us in a smothering sadness that only grows and grows. Where will it end?

If the nation suffers increasing fits of panics, it is largely because of states demonstrating that random disorder can occur even in encyclopedic places like Lumberton, N.C.—the killing ground of James Jordan. Having at

in to do some serious business. James Jordan was a scowling, ice-cold brute, all right, and loaded with accessories. To some, at sight of such a place, a plain invitation to commit assault, or worse. You set it out, the biker, you pull the owner and maybe take the wheels, too. The dumb gods had, though, been tough to him. Weatherly, the unassuming James Jordan, had not just sit it. Anyways, Jordan came in belligerently and James, in dog-eared, tattered, torn-up clothes, with his biker buddies, dismounted the chopper. The biker, cops say, that Jordan through the window when he started from sleep. Without delay, the suspects began causing trouble. Robeson County and making calls to talking hotlines on the 800 telephone circuit, to the point that the sheriff's office

HOTEL MANAGEMENT 13

GRIM TIDINGS



Campbell arriving at her nomination meeting in Vancouver Centre and weeks later image shows signs of fraying

CAMPAIN '93

far from auspicious. In Ottawa, the Conference Board of Canada cautions that the country is "still in a below-par recovery" that will likely improve only slightly in 1994. Quebec's largest business group, the Conseil du Patronat (Council of Employers), then issued a report putting the province's true unemployment rate—the total of those receiving unemployment insurance or other social benefits—at 22.6 per cent, or more

than 850,000 people. Meanwhile, a Statistics Canada study revealed that in 1991, the most recent year for which it has figures, more than a third of all two-parent families in the country received some type of insurance benefits. As it is to endorse the political message behind those dismal figures, the Toronto Star published the findings of the government's own poll of Canadians, conducted in April. The bad news for Conservatives: only two per cent of respondents agreed with the statement that the government has an economic plan that is working.

When the Conservatives began plotting their election campaign a year ago, their expectations were much more rosy. By mid-

1993, party supporters believed, Canada should be showing obvious signs of recovery from the three-year-old recession—and grateful voters would give credit to the Tories and their free-market policies. Instead, at the eve of the campaign, the economy is still in stagnation, particularly in the two most populous provinces, Quebec and Ontario. Some believe, then, that Prime Minister Kim Campbell visited Toronto last week to offer solace in substance of potential supporters and assuage leaders. But in a speech that broke like new ground, even her words of comfort were couched in caution, said Campbell: "These are new initiatives and firms being created by the hundreds, but that renewal and

growth will take time." More to the point, she presented no tax increases, and repeated her commitment to create the federal deficit, now \$6.5 billion, within five years.

Now that the long photofest war preceding the campaign is drawing to a close, each of the federal parties is feeling pressure to offer more specific economic promises. "The issue of this election are the economy and jobs," says Industry and Science Minister Jean Charest, who will be the Tories' most active spokesman in Quebec. "And that's the case everywhere in Canada, whether we're talking about Montreal or Red Deer." So far, though, the Liberals have been slower off the mark. Their leader, Jean Chrétien, and in mid-August that his party would help small businesses by easing credit and creating an investment fund for leading-edge companies in such fields as medical research and computer software development. The Liberal leader has also promised to "re-inject the economy" with a massive spending program to improve roads, bridges, sewers and other public facilities.

Chretien's announcements illustrate a key difference between the two parties: the Liberals say that government intervention is essential in an economic recovery, while the Tories insist that the economy will be bound properly if left alone. Both parties argue their case strongly—but the Tories must contend with the fact that a hands-off approach is harder to sell in voters. Campbell's Toronto speech, for one, was swamped with accusations that she argued for a "prelude to the laissez faire" at spending money "more freely" and at "widening partnerships" with business, labor and other levels of government. She offered little in the way of new programs—and even fewer commitments on funding for them.

Despite those shortcomings, the Tories insist that their approach will find favor with the public. Voters, they say, are suspicious of anyone who appears to be offering easy answers to complex problems. "Canadians are really quite comfortable with the old shibboleths, the anti-sentiment answers," said International Trade Minister Tom Mulroney. "They find you more credible if you talk about job security—a word that speaks to the problems where they live." Privately, however, some Tory workers who have convened door-to-door for the party question the wisdom of that strategy. They

say that voters are looking for specific promises to create jobs—and that the lack of such initiatives by the government is a cause for complaint.

In fact, the Conservative election program under Kim Campbell is almost entirely fashioned from the one that ended when Brian Mulroney left the party. The broad strokes of the economic policies that Campbell announced in Toronto were originally contained in a speech prepared for Mulroney earlier this year, before he made public his decision to resign. The broad speech, which was never used, also included the basic elements of a low-end-order speech that Campbell is scheduled to deliver in Edmonton this week. One senior Tory organizer concedes that Mulroney and his advisers were responsible for "about 80 per cent" of the party's current election platform. "We didn't," the organizer said. "But people may dislike the man, but not the policies."

For much the same reason, the devotion many Tories have to prime Minister Mulroney has become the love that dare not speak its name. Last fall, when George Bush was with speculation about Mulroney's future, rose of his own initiative—including Campbell—publicly implied his lead into the next election. But since the start of the leadership campaign in March, Campbell and other senior Tories have rarely even mentioned Mulroney by name. Asked about his last work, Campbell replied tersely: "The campaign is about the future."

Lacking any significant new policies with which to dazzle voters, the Conservatives seem to be taking a leaf from their counterparts in Britain and the United States. In both countries, fiscally conservative governments have come to power recently in which they tried to limit the role of the state in society. In effect, they are dismantling the problems of an employment and wage growth, and leaving their role to the market. Both Prime Minister John Major and US President George Bush might, in particular, be considered as templates for Campbell's policies, which probably will damage the economy. In the end, Bush lost while Major—a large measure because of his success in distancing himself from a powerful and deeply unpopular predecessor, Margaret Thatcher.

The Tories will also focus on an area in which they now seem significantly better than any of the other parties. "The issue of his election is leadership," was a comment not because a majority among Tories at the close of a wacky caucus meeting in Ottawa last week. In separate interviews, Public Security Minister Doug Lewin and Toronto-area backbencher Donald Blakeman each

Canada Notes

NEW MEDICARE LIMITS

Starting next year, British Columbians will have to pay their own medical bills when the services they seek are deemed unnecessary according to clinical guidelines. The province will formally limit coverage to procedures that it deems as necessary.

MONSIEUR PISSEURS CLOSURES

The Fisheries Resource Conservation Council recommended the closure of several major fishing grounds in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean south of Newfoundland. The council, which includes fishing industry representatives, scientists and government officials, said that the measure is needed to protect stocks of groundfish such as cod, plaice and halibut.

SOMALI COMPENSATION

The defence department in Ottawa has acknowledged paying \$13,750 in compensation to the family of Shidore Ossar Areec, who died on March 16 in Canadian custody in Somalia. Two members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment face second-degree murder and torture charges related to Areec's death. Two other officers are charged with torture and negligent performance of duty.

SHAKING A CLAW

Three Indian bands living near Vancouver Island's Clayoquot Sound plan to seek compensation to halt logging in the region's old-growth rain forests and their last stands are settled.

UNDERGROUND MERCY KILLINGS

A survey conducted by the Canadian Medical Association indicates that 80 per cent of doctors favor legalizing some form of euthanasia and physician-assisted suicide. Dr. Ted Boulianne, president of the Ontario Medical Association, and reporters that doctors should help the Canadian Code by pressuring politicians "on a daily basis." Added Boulianne: "Doctors are doing it, entirely underground, and entirely unregulated."

CHOOSING WELFARE OVER WORK

An Ontario woman ignited a controversy by announcing that she had quit her \$41,250-a-year civil service job to collect welfare. Helen Holmgren said that she took the action to protest high taxes, employer wage cuts and her view that collecting welfare is often more profitable than working.

employed the phrase. Campaign co-chairman John Tory used the same words in a meeting with robotics.

But the party's strategy of building the campaign around Campbell has its risks. Since winning the leadership in June, she has benefited from generally positive media coverage—which is unlikely to carry over into the actual campaign. Some of that coverage has focused on the perception of her as a young leader even though, at 48, she is older than Mulroney and Clark when they became leader. The all-exploited attention about her leadership has dimmed the two—which has not been in vogue since the early 1990s—is cited, remarkably, as evidence of youthfulness. In fact, it probably says more about the greeping members of the Ottawa press gallery than about Campbell herself.

Finally, such generic coverage generates a credibility bias. Last week, several francophone media outlets in Quebec took aim at Campbell's ability to speak French. Michael Ducey, the government's operations critic, says Ducey has given Campbell his ear. But what politicians do not say can be of equal importance, because silence is a topic of often signals as well as words. The election campaign seems certain to distinguish those who fear for the quality of the water we drink and the air we breathe.

It is the 1993 campaign, the environment ranked second to free trade among the issues. Paul Mulroney's environmental minister, Lucien Bouchard, said that the Tories' goal was to "make Canada, by the year 2000, the industrial world's most environmentally friendly country." Many Canadians endorsed and were a bit taken that "the federal image she has worked hard to foster over the summer also shows signs of fraying. In her Toronto speech, she used the economists' term "consumer durables" several times to refer to such nonperishable items as washing machines and dryers. Significantly, Tory insiders say that Campbell's popularity appears to have peaked. Recent polls for the party indicate that the Tories still trail the Liberals by at least a half dozen percentage points in the key battleground of Ontario.

At the same time, the level of Liberal voters who share a concern for the environment—say 40 per cent of the electorate—has risen sharply since the 1993 election. In the fall, the two parties most likely to form the next government—say any significant new announcements or the re-election of Liberal and Conservative seem to care. The latest Macdonald/Demers poll published last January, found that more than two per cent of respondents cited the environment as their most important concern. "Votes," says a senior Conservative, "tend to hear about issues, not voters."

That attitude suits the Tories. Their 1988 poll-driven platform aside, many of them still think of environmentalists—when they think of them at all—as oldsmobile irritants to increased investment. In a memorandum last fall, the federal Treasury Board directed its investment Canada to "look at creating regulations and steady house" sufficiently for Canadian competitiveness—an impossible task. The government's five-year Green Plan, announced with fanfare in 1990 and given a \$3-billion budget, has spent only about one-sixth of that total.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH with JEFF FINNIFORD in Ottawa, RAMESH PANGAN and BRUCE WALLACE in Toronto

No talk, no action



BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

Every politician," the British novelist C. K. Chesterton wrote, "is really absolutely a pretentious politician."

At this time, it is not much more than that for the election campaign, when politicians of all stripes consider themselves to be performing, writing, and acting. And it is not surprising. But what politicians do not say can be of equal importance, because silence is a topic of often signals as well as words. The election campaign seems certain to distinguish those who fear for the quality of the water we drink and the air we breathe.

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In this election, neither the Tories nor the Liberals—the two parties most likely to form the next government—say any significant new announcements or the re-election of Liberal and Conservative seem to care. The latest Macdonald/Demers poll published last January, found that more than two per cent of respondents cited the environment as their most important concern. "Votes," says a senior Conservative, "tend to hear about issues, not voters."

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Bouchard, when he bolted from the Tories to help found the Bloc Québécois, promised to preserve his "deep commitment" to the issue. But his silence since suggests that his concern about the environment vanished as quickly as his commitment to federalism. His successor, Robert de Gaspe, is remembered chiefly for the budget cuts he carried out. After de Gaspe came Jean Charest, who tried and was failing to avert the leadership race to lobby for a new, English-speaking leader. Prime Minister Kim Campbell replaced him with Pierre Vincent, who is now replaced by his own colleagues as a lightning bolt.

In addition, Campbell's compensation of the editor in chief of *Le Journal* has seriously damaged the environment department, according to environmentalist Elizabeth May of the Sierra Club of Canada. As part of those changes, Campbell shifted about 40 per cent of the department's budget to other ministries, and disbanded a cabinet committee on the environment.

Environmentalists feel cause for optimism as well as despair in the way the Liberals have treated the issue. John Gutfreund, the party's environmental minister, Lucien Bouchard, said that the Tories' goal was to "make Canada, by the year 2000, the industrial world's most environmentally friendly country." Many Canadians endorsed and were a bit taken that "the federal image she has worked hard to foster over the summer also shows signs of fraying. In her Toronto speech, she used the economists' term "consumer durables" several times to refer to such nonperishable items as washing machines and dryers. Significantly, Tory insiders say that Campbell's popularity appears to have peaked. Recent polls for the party indicate that the Tories still trail the Liberals by at least a half dozen percentage points in the key battleground of Ontario.

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That attitude suits the Tories. Their 1988



The Regina-based heavy oil upgrader critics say taxpayers are the losers

Taking care of business

Should governments bankroll the private sector?

CAMPAGNIE ISSUES

BY MICHAEL WALKER

REVIEWING THE

ISSUES

It seemed like a good idea at the time. In 1996, Saskatchewan's new Progressive government signed an agreement with Fredricton Coopératives Ltd. to help it build a \$1-billion heavy oil upgrader, which would convert bitumen into oil, and the province would guarantee \$625 million in loans—and the Saskatchewan government would cover any operating losses. But the partnership soured after the New Democratic Party, campaigning on a promise to reduce the province's deficit, defeated the Tories in the 1994 election. In June, the province passed a law allowing it to take over the Regina-based plant, which by then had cost taxpayers \$225 million. Fredericton Coop responded by threatening to move its head office to Calgary. On Aug. 26, the two sides patched up their differences and agreed to seek another \$75 million each into the project. But they also warned that the upgrader might have to be shut down—unless Ottawa contributes up to \$75 million more to the venture.

Like the Tories' opposition policies are exploring the idea of reducing or eliminating tax subsidies to business. Reform party Leader Preston Manning, for one, advocates doing away with all direct cash subsidies—including those given to Canadian farmers, provided that other countries do the same. The Liberals say the tax take a softer look, but acknowledge that there is a need for reform. Liberal MP and businesswoman Paul Martin Jr. says that if it no longer feasible to help a business with grants or subsidies to build plants which they are going to shut down on Tuesday to move somewhere else. "At that point, the benefits reduce even if the company that employed them shut down or moves away," agrees oil industry critic Howard McCurdy. "There has been too much emphasis on just throwing money at business."

With a federal election fast approaching, Ottawa is under pressure to decide to that request. Over the past three decades, governments of all sorts have pumped billions of dollars into private ventures in pursuit of jobs, regional economic develop-

ment—and political popularity. But in today's climate of fiscal restraint, federal and provincial governments are being forced to reassess that practice. Late last year, the federal government announced plans to cut grants to business by about 30 per cent. Alberta's Tories government cut all direct cash subsidies to business as of April 1. And last month, Nova Scotia's new Liberal government announced that it would follow suit. Last November, the province announced that it would take over the Nova Scotia Economic Development Minister Ron Bragg's "I don't think there is a place in Canada which can afford to make massive cash contributions to businesses."

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In fact, governments are already looking at ways of helping business start up without direct subsidies. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, for example, are trying to limit government spending on training for workers. That way, the benefits reduce even if the company that employed them shut down or moves away. "At the end of the day, the subsidies that may businesses enjoyed in the past may no longer be a necessity," says Nancy Wood, with LINDY FISHKOP in Ottawa and SARAH MORGAN in Toronto.

The problem is not simply the strain on government finances. Many politicians and

business leaders complain that grants and tax breaks to the private sector distort the marketplace and use a waste of taxes. The practice has produced a long line of unsuccessful ventures," says Tom McMillan, director of the Business Council on National Issues. Two of the most notorious examples: the \$160 million that the federal and Nova Scotia governments each took the oil-blend Westinghouse coal plant in Tilbury, N.S., which closed following an explosion on May 8, 1992, that killed 35 miners, and the \$23 million that New Brunswick taxpayers lost when the British Columbia sports car factory went into receivership in 1995.

The list of business entrepreneurs who have left the public trough includes many professed believers in free enterprise. Some rationale their actions by arguing that any business they release will be seized by a competitor, who will then enjoy an unfair advantage. "That is what is so ridiculous about this," says Michael Walker, executive director of the Fraser Institute, a conservative Vancouver think tank. "Even if it's a desirous and strategically exposed to this, he has an obligation to his shareholders and to his workers to take advantage of it."

In Walker's opinion, business' other rationale businesses to engage in unprofitable activities, or benefit one company at the expense of others. "With government subsidies," he says, "you create with one hand and destroy with another."

Another critic of business subsidies is Donald Sinosic, an economics professor at the University of Manitoba and author of the 1999 book, *The Politics of Public Spending in Canada*. In total, he says, Ottawa provides between \$80 billion and \$85 billion annually to the private sector in the form of grants, guaranteed loans and tax breaks. Eliminating the most direct type of subsidy—cash grants—would save in excess of \$3 billion. "It's for one, would upload such a move," Sinosic says. "There is nothing in the literature that says this kind of funding is very effective."

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THE GLOBE AND MAIL

MANAGEMENT/SEPTEMBER 6, 1993

WORLD

BROKEN PROMISES

FRUSTRATED NIGERIANS DEMAND A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY

Finally, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida's long has word—so a point. The 52-year-old Nigerian dictator met his self-imposed deadline to give up the presidency by Aug. 27, leaving office last week one day before the eighth anniversary of the bloodless coup that brought him to power in 1985. But a simple ceremony that put the transfer of power into effect underlined the dismal role that the military will continue to play in Nigerian politics. The outgoing ruler used the occasion to award a special medal to his defense minister, Lt.-Gen. Sani Abacha, who will sit on the uncharted

38-member Interim Federal Executive Council that succeeds Babangida's government. A despot who had plagued Nigeria into its worst crisis since its 1967 civil war was gone, but he had not left his often-repeated promise to cede power to a democratically elected civilian government.

Nigerians initially welcomed Babangida as a pragmatic leader committed to ending corruption and ethnic conflict in Africa's most populous (88.5 million) country. But he failed to live up to those expectations. After going into exile the succession seemed a signal end to his defense minister, Lt.-Gen.

Sani Abacha, who will sit on the uncharted

a democratic poll in June. But then Babangida annulled the vote before the results were even announced, triggering civil unrest and mass movements of people fleeing Lagos and other large cities to their ethnic强holds in fear that the situation would collapse into tribal war. Last week, as he moved out of the presidential villa in the capital, Abacha and his entourage headed north toward Abuja, the apparent replacement, Babangida left behind an anxious nation uncertain about its future.

In fact, even the general was officially returning from the army at an elaborate mil-



itary parade in Abuja, Nigeria's two biggest cities, Lagos and Ibadan in the southwest, were paralyzed by stay-at-home protests called by the Campaign for Democracy, a human rights coalition of about 30 groups. Meanwhile, just west of Ibadan, Moshood Abiola, whose supporters claim that he was robbed of the presidency when Babangida annulled the June 12 election, declared that the new interim council "represents nobody but Ibrahim Babangida and a small clique." And he vowed to return to Nigeria this week from travels abroad in solidarity to some "real government." That brought an ominous warning from the council's Police Minister Clement Abor, who declared that Abiola's threatened action "would be an act of treason" that would invoke "the necessary laws."

Migros has been relieved by the military for 20 of the 23 years since it gained independence from Britain in 1960. Sharply after taking power in 1985, Babangida repeatedly promised—then delayed—a return to democratic rule. His officials detained thousands of dissidents and journalists, often without formal charges, when they criticized his government. Babangida shut down several independent newspapers and magazines. Other critical elements of the country have ceased to function. His adversaries, once the pride of Nigeria, have been closed for the past year, impoverished by poor management and increasingly bitter stories by touring staff. And its National Assembly, which met after the U.S. Congress, with a Senate and House of Representatives, has been largely inactive since its inauguration last year because most of its powers were suspended by the military.

By most accounts, Abiola handily won the June election that international and Nigerian observers deemed to be fair. But Babangida refused to accept the outcome, claiming fraud and vote buying. Like about half of the population, both Abiola and Babangida are Hausa, 50% less than half of whose civil war arose from the fact that while Abiola comes from the south, strong kins of the Hausa tribe, Babangida comes from the north, where political power and dominance of the military have been traditionally held by the Hausa-Fulani tribes. Setting to avoid a violent, protracted politi-

cal stalemate, including former military president Olusegun Obasanjo, publicly backed the idea of an interim civilian government as the only salvation to the crisis. Said Obasanjo, who in 1979 became the first Nigerian leader to freely hand over power to an elected civilian government: "What is most important is that Babangida should go. Then the processes of good governance and democracy in Nigeria can start."

The selected interim council installed last week, which will rule by military decree, is expected to govern until a new presidential election is held, probably next year. To Babangida's critics, it appears to be a scaled-down version allowing him to exert power from the background. "What Babangida has done is to place the interim government on a superstructure he has created," said Tony Abayomi, head of Human Rights Africa, one

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Babangida, brings in patrol in Lagos during strike (opposite): uncertainty

of the opposition groups that organized stay-at-home protests last week. "With the interim government in place, Gen. Babangida will still pull the strings whether he officially holds power or not."

The new interim leader is Ernest Shone-Gun, 57, a former industrialist and lawyer who has headed a transitional council holding a day-to-day government since January. He comes from the southwestern state of Akoko, which also houses the Aroka and many other ethnic groups at Abuja, including Boko Ransome-Kuti, the detained leader of the Campaign for Democracy. Shone-Gun also married Wole Soyinka and an military officer, Olajummo. Some observers say that Babangida chose Shone-Gun to appease supporters of Abiola. But many of Shone-Gun's

MUSSAINI'S DIRECTORS

Condoning what they called the terror and misery of President Saddam Hussein's regime, India's ambassador to Canada, Bhupinder Singh, and his wife, Bhupinder, defected to Britain. The diplomats said that they will work with the London-based Iraqi National Congress, an umbrella body for opposition groups.

PUNISHING CHINA

The United States slapped economic sanctions against China, accusing Beijing of having helped Pakistan in breach of a world nonproliferation pact. The sanctions will block up to \$1 billion worth of U.S. exports to China, mostly scientific and other technology, over the next two years. In 1990, Washington suspended all military and new economic aid to Pakistan on suspicion that the country was making nuclear weapons.

THE JPK PAPERS

Previously unreleased documents relating to the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy shed intriguing new light on a mystery that still confounds Lee Harvey Oswald's links to Mexico City a week before he shot the president in Dallas. A version of a 500-page 1979 report by the House Select Committee on Assassinations disclosed that Oswald had a sexual relationship with a Mexican secretary at the Cuban consulate there, who had apparently been targeted for assassination by the CIA.

BRIEF FOR HAITI

As Haiti made steps towards restoring democracy, the UN Security Council suspended a worldwide ban of arms embargoes that it imposed on the country last June. But formal shedding of the sanctions will not occur until after Dec. 30 when President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was ousted in a 1991 military coup, is scheduled to return to power.

A BURIAL SLAYING

A mob of black youths in a Cape Town township stabbed a white American woman to death. The victim, Vickie, 38, of Newport Beach, Calif., had been in South Africa for 10 months, studying the status of women and doing volunteer work on projects for poor black women and children. Police arrested two members of the radical Pan African Congress, which has the slogan, "One settler, one bullet."

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WORLD

Yoruba-speaking Ibo men say that, in accepting the job, he has betrayed the cause of a people cheated out of the presidency. "Because Obasanjo is a Yoruba man like Abiola does not mean he will have it easy," said businessman Ibrahim Odebiyi. "Obasanjo is going to face a lot of problems in Yorubaland, where many people will see him as a sellout."

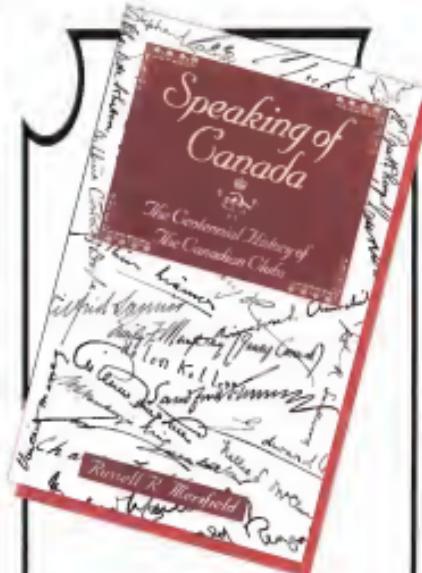
Obasanjo clearly faces a tough job ahead. The Nigeria through which Obasanjo's is the dominant economy of sub-Saharan Africa. But it derives 80 per cent of its revenue from petroleum, which is a precarious source of income in an oil price slump of the recent past. In 1986, Nigeria earned \$85 billion from oil exports. But by 1990, that figure was reduced to just \$50 billion. And while Nigeria continues to earn well by African standards, successive governments, mainly military, have squandered more than \$175 billion of oil revenues since 1965.

The country is enormously rich in natural resources (besides oil, it exports coal, tea and rubber), but widespread corruption and mismanagement have kept living standards abysmally low. Nigeria's per capita GNP is only \$315, among the lowest in the world. The annual inflation rate is 70 per cent and the foreign debt is a crippling \$12 billion. Much of the blame rests with Babangida and other politicians, who critics say have used public service as an avenue to personal fortune. According to Lagos-based journalist Olufela Ologunju: "The average Nigerian politician is not only a master of intrigues, he is the very embodiment of bad politics. Not for him such enabling attributes as honesty, sacrifice, discipline and strict adherence to the rules of the game. Not for him Abraham Lincoln's famous declaration that politics is a call to service. Here the hallmarks have remained constant: selfishness, infidelity, infatuation, greed and avarice."

In a brief acceptance speech last weekend Abiola acknowledged the challenges ahead. Said the interim leader: "Our task has not been made easier by the events of the past weeks, which have given a long way to undermining our national economy."

That task could become even more difficult if Abiola carries out his promise to return to Nigeria this week. The invited presidential candidate has been out of the country since Aug. 3, removing the international support he needed to gain power. He has met with some success, winning various associations of Nigerians from the Nigerian Community in the United States and Canada. The more Nigerians fear that Abiola's re-appearance could spark mass demonstrations by pro-democracy groups—and give the military an excuse to crack down. And that, they fear, may only further delay Nigeria's long-awaited return to democracy.

ANDREW BLUSK with PAUL ADAMS in Abuja



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SPEAKING OF CANADA

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By RUSSELL R. MERIFIELD

Introduction by JOHN E. GODFREY

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'A frustrating, terrible problem'

State department officials revolt over U.S. policy on Bosnia

I n the skies over war-torn Bosnia, U.S. planes enforce a so-called no-fly zone against Serbian military aircraft. On the ground in nearby Macedonia, 300 American troops serve as a token reminder of Washington's resolve to keep the 17-month war in the former Yugoslavia from spreading. But for a growing number of U.S. state department officials, President Bill Clinton's limited efforts to solve the Bosnia crisis are too little, too late. Foreign service officers are now talking openly about the administration's failure to announce a clear set of foreign policy priorities. And last week, Crisis specialist Stephen Walker, 30, became the fourth state department official—and the third in August—to put over the issue. Walker said that the last straw was Secretary of State Warren Christopher's statement in late July that Washington was doing all it could in Bosnia within the constraints of official security—a statement that Walker said showed the international community had “given up on Bosnia.” As he told *Maclean's*, “I could no longer countenance a U.S. policy that supports a negotiating process in Geneva that is legitimizing genocide and aggression and the use of force to dismantle Bosnia.”

Not since the Vietnam War has there been so much disillusionment within the state department. On Aug. 13, Christopher met with several dozen dissenters to air differences, but the effort failed to calm his staff—or to stem the walkouts. Walker, who as a Crisis desk officer worked directly on the Bosnia issue, claims that large numbers of his co-workers decided to support him when he announced his resignation. Other staff confide that there would be mass resignation if a vote possible to find other jobs in the tight economy. Said one senior diplomat, who talked with *Maclean's* on condition of anonymity: “Family ties with managers can't change, they have to stick it all up. The only half the end level staff is in a state of mind depression. You can have no idea how bad this thing is.”

Many of the dissenters complain that

American support of an international peace plan, which would divide Bosnia into three ethnic mini-states, merely rewards Serbian aggressors by giving Serbs territory they took by force. Some of them favor U.S. military involvement to help stop the war. Still, there is no consensus among top aides on what

to do to the White House. Insiders say that the President cannot politically afford a controversial foreign entanglement.

Last week, a U.S. mercy mission to the beleaguered Bosnian town of Mostar symbolized the complexities of foreign involvement in the Bosnia crisis. After much negotiation,



Bosnian Croats blocking a UN convoy heading for Mostar: ‘Our policy is a sham and a fraud’

the Clinton administration is what new steps to take to solve the crisis. Said department spokesman Michael McCloskey of the Walker resignation: “It’s as if he told us what the secretary himself has said an innumerable number of times: this is a frustrating, terrible problem in which answers are not easy to come by.”

There are several reasons for the Clinton administration’s seeming indecision over Bosnia. One powerful factor is that White House polls show that Americans are not greatly concerned about the Bosnian situation. Said one that Clinton is heavily burdened already by domestic issues such as the budget deficit and his proposed health care reform plan—causes that helped fuel

Croatian forces suspended a series of the road to allow UNHCR UN crews to deliver food and medical supplies to 50,000 Muslims trapped inside. As the UN convoy, under way, angry Croatian troops blocked the trucks for several hours, accusing the United Nations of aiding “fathers.” And after the convoy finally reached Mostar, Marshall refused to allow the media to leave—they saw the UN personnel as a shield against further Croatian shelling.

For Bosnia’s Muslim-dominated, the left of strong U.S. support, at least week to implement a plan to the World Court in The Hague for protection. There, its representatives accused Serbia and Montenegro, an al-

ly of the Serbs in what is left of Yugoslavia, of genocide, rape and torture. They claim that the UN Security Council, by maintaining an arms embargo against countries that were once part of Yugoslavia, is denying Bosnia’s right to the legal right as a state. President Bush, a representative of the Bosnian government at The Hague, told the court: “There are, at least, in the crooks, rapists, serial killers and bloodshed of Serbia and Montenegro.”

Many civilian and foreign employees of the U.S. state department agree. The man who started the protest last year, ex-Yugoslav air force General George Konje, 36, says that he has no regrets about his decision. Konje told *Maclean's*: “By resigning I told the President and secretary of state know my position. Our policy is a sham and a fraud.”

Added Konje, who now supports himself by giving lectures, writing at sides and doing consulting work: “It’s not a losing cause. Virtually everyone at the working level within the state department shares my view. We can only hope that the resignation will open a public debate about what we are doing.”

Joe Western, 36, an Eastern Europe analyst, resigned in August. He said last week that he had found himself walking home from work every night feeling angry and bitter. Explained Western: “You can’t read through the accounts of atrocities as a daily basis, add them up and see what’s happening and not be overwhelmed.” Western recalled one diplomatic cable, which he said was typical of the information that caused his desk as a daily basis that mid of a one-year-old Muslim girl raped by Serbian fighters and left in a pool of blood. Her parents were forced to watch helplessly from behind a fence for two days before she died.

Marshall Freeman Harris, 22, an other recent defector from the department, and that he was offered reassignment away from the Bosnia desk if he stayed. Said Harris: “I just couldn’t stomach it if my career. He ‘lost all respect’ for the people who came up with the US policy on Bosnia, he added.

The day after he resigned last week, Walker told *Maclean's* that the United States “was being, trying to avoid responsibility in this crisis.” Said Walker: “We must get the arms embargo lifted against the Bosnian government and let it stand on its own. And we should make a priority of the preservation of a unitary Bosnian state. That is a lot we can do, including the use of allied or power, to force Serbian compliance.” He added: “Our inaction and our vacillating policies told us to inaction. The United States has to provide leadership, but I don’t see that happening.”

WILLIAM LOWTHER in Washington

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Sarajevo Diary

Lewis MacKenzie looks back on days of terror and controversy

Lewis MacKenzie was right when he warned his supporters that, in naming him to command the UN mission to Sarajevo in June 1992, they were sending a soldier, not a diplomat. Over the next six weeks, the Canadian Forces general ignored his bosses—and others who saw the Bosnian war as a clear case of Serbian aggression—with blunt public statements apportioning some blame for the fighting to Muslims and Croats as well as Serbs, and warnings against the folly of outside military intervention.

Now spired from the military, the 53-year-old MacKenzie continues to speak out on the Balkan war—he feels that even him a six-figure income. His controversial views, along with the fact that he accepted \$15,000 from a U.S.-based Serbian public relations group to speak in Washington last June, have

led critics to brand him a "Serbian agent." Last week, MacKenzie turned the money from that engagement over to the Canadian Foundation for AIDS Research. But he continues to speak candidly about what he sees as an intractable military situation that can only be resolved by political negotiation. On Sept. 18, Douglas & McIntyre releases his memoirs of his military career, *Phosphorus: The Road to Sarajevo*. The following excerpts are taken from the chapters on Sarajevo, a city that he says has become a "wore on the conscience of the world."

At war and chaos flared across Bosnia in June, 1992, Major-General Lewis MacKenzie took command of United Nations troops responsible for enforcing an air-bridge agreement that would allow humanitarian aid to be flown into Sarajevo. The mission marked the return to Bosnia of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which had withdrawn to Brčko, Serbia, in May at the war's outbreak. With a small advance group, MacKenzie drove westward from Brčko, through checkpoints where marching Bosnian Serbs threatened to kill him, to reach Sarajevo's airport, where fighting between Serbs and Muslims still raged. "For the first time since I'd served in Yugoslavia back in March, I was really scared," MacKenzie wrote in his diary that first night as peace-fre and mothers went off around him. "I wondered if I was doing my duty."

After painstaking negotiations, UN soldiers were allowed to cross arms-free lines to establish their headquarters in the PTT, a factory-government building near the airport. But there was no ceasefire



MacKenzie at the airport in Sarajevo "day away or year old"



to monitor. The warring soldiers were furious with their political leaders' decision to hand the United Nations control of a strategic city that they had fought—and many had died—over. The UN troops were unwilling, and the Canadian general got an immediate taste of the United Nations' impotence in Bosnia—a driller that quickly became directed against MacKenzie himself.

JUNE 11

During the drive downtown, I saw that about 20 per cent more of the buildings on the main route had been seriously damaged during my three-week absence. The area around the presidency was a mess, trees and parts of buildings had been blown into the street. Across from the Holiday Inn, the Congress had been destroyed. The roof of the arena where Karaca Wif had won her gold medal for figure skating in 1988 had completely collapsed.

At approximately 2000h, the phone rang in my office—call-back from the radio station. The voice at the other end of the phone had a very strong accent which made the individual very hard to understand, however, I could hear him being coached in the background by a female speaking perfect English.

"General MacKenzie, I command 2,000 soldiers. Many of my people have captured the airport. If you go near the airport, we will kill all your people." This was not exactly the "welcome wagon" but I decided that I might as well talk to him.

"We can't have to take the airport away from you. Your leaders, Dr [Radovan] Karadžić and General [Ratko] Mladić, have signed a contract with the UN to hand over the airport to us so we can bring in humanitarian aid. This is not my idea, it's yours." I said. I could hear the female coaching my interlocutor. "Karadžić and Mladić are tools."

the voice responded. "I command the airport area and you must stay away."

Obviously, I wasn't going anywhere so I changed tactics. "Look, why don't we get together there and talk about this face-to-face. You prepared to come and see you or you can be brought to the PTT?" "No. No meeting, and you just sleep away from the airport or you die." And with that, he hung up.

Welcome to Sarajevo, I thought, and went to bed in the "room" contaminated with blacklets suspended from wires strung between the walls adjacent to my desk.

MacKenzie quickly discovered that "dead-and-true peacekeeping methods didn't always work in Bosnia. Worried about the need to hold off a hostile force should the United Nations need to evacuate Sarajevo, he advised the Canadian liaison to teach entrenched snipers—fertilized under the agreement—into their air-part compound. And MacKenzie discovered that the international media, with its ability to cover world events by speaking advertiser,

was its most potent weapon in trying to cover the different sides to slaying civilians. But on occasion, using the media to incite angry gun crews on MacKenzie's own troops.

JUNE 20

The situation around the airport deteriorated during the day. Our people tried to raise a UN flag over the terminal building at 0800h and were fired at by snipers from across the road to [the snipers at] Dobrinja. Over 50 rounds were fired from tanks and mortars joined in from both sides. I was fed up and proceeded to make one of the dumbest decisions of my career.

I sent a letter to [Bosnian] Muslim President Alija Izetbegović and to Karadžić advising them that "I intend to withdraw my personnel from the airport as soon as possible. I am terminating all preparation and efforts to open the Sarajevo airport for the efficiency of humanitarian aid and there is at least 45 hours of continuous conflict. Every time there is a lull in the conflict, the 45-hour clock will be reset. So here I come to improve the conflict. That is your responsibility. I suggest you both stop fighting now. Where you sit, I will sit the 45-hour clock." A press conference was called and I advised the media of my communication with the two leaders.

Five minutes later, I received the report that Maj Peter Devlin's jeep had been hit with shrapnel. Maj. Devlin commanded K Company of the Royal Canadian Regiment, which was one of the two large rifle companies in the VRS Don little group. His driver, Cpl. Jim Gorrie, had been seriously injured in his left knee, but had managed to drive his jeep out of the impact area in spite of the fact that all the tires, including the rear-mounted spare, had been cut to shreds by the flying metal. Maj. Devlin and the third passenger in



Photo: AP/Wide World

SPECIAL REPORT

the vehicle, Lt. Patrick Dray, had also been hit but fortunately their wounds were superficial. We didn't realize how lucky they were until we saw this jeep, which definitely had been seen better days. Col. Goran was evacuated to our Canadian base in Lehr, Germany, for further treatment.

The shelling had died down around 2300hrs, coincident with a call from Barbara McDougall, Canada's secretary of state for external affairs. She was on her car phone and wanted to wish us all well as we sought to open the airport. I thanked her for the call and made a mental note that she was the first politician to have made the effort. It was the first time that I realized that we hadn't heard from the Minister of National Defence Marcel Masse.

Western European politicians were feeling the heat of public opinion for their failure to stop the war in Bosnia. To compound that criticism, French President François Mitterrand decided to fly to Sarajevo to meet local politicians—on just one day's notice. It was, as MacKeecey wrote at the time, "the most outstanding act of political one-upmanship by a European statesman since the Second World War [and] had the markings of a firework."

JUNE 28

My immediate impression of the president was that he reflected his well-known nickname, "The Sphinx." In spite of the considerable confusion swirling around him, including the inevitable Bosnian VIP welcome consisting of mortar and sniper fire, which had started "on site" 40 minutes before both sides of the runway, you would have thought the president was on a leisurely stroll through the Bois de Boulogne in Paris.

Mitterrand asked no more than the date I selected to start the initial task of contact touring and assessing the needs of my staff. I found out later that the water and electricity were off for the second time in the morning and so we knew what condition the citizens in the president's disappearance in our country were in and faced the door committee with us taking a deep breath. About two minutes later, we all entered with a collective sigh of relief when we heard the delightful sound of a strong and energetic Bush. The president emerged rubbing his damp hands together to dry them. Obviously, one single cold water tap had also contributed to the first time in days. Who says prayer doesn't work.

French Health Minister Bertrand Kouchner told Mitterrand that he should see President Karadžić as soon as possible. Karadžić was the legal president of the country and protocol dictated that he be first on the list of people to be visited. Mitterrand indicated that the one visit would suffice and therefore, they should be able to do it in a few hours.

I was shocked. I never considered that the president of France would visit Sarajevo and only talk with one side in the conflict. I could just imagine the Serb reaction and they would take it out on the only permanent international mediator present in Sarajevo—the

It was now or never. "Mr President, with all due respect, I would appreciate you also seeing the Serbian leader in Bosnia, Dr. Karadžić. It's important for me to be seen as an impartial negotiator by both sides. If you only see President Karadžić it will make it virtually impossible for me to deal with the Serbs after you leave. They are about to land over the airport as on and I would have to see anything negotiate that."

"Patron," Mitterrand replied. "Tell Karadžić that I will see him for only five minutes before I depart. I won't meet with him, I just pass my hello." It would be five minutes, a quick handshake and that would be it.

Another problem. "Mr President, your greetings will turn into a meeting, and the meeting will last an hour." I explained. "Approximately two minutes after you start your five-minute meeting, fighting will break out. There will be a major fire-fight involving tanks, mortars and machine-guns on and around the airport terminal. We won't be able to move from the building until Karadžić decides your meeting is over. I call it showtime," and both sides agreed.



PHOTO: AP/WIDEWORLD

The general with Kouchner (left) and Mitterrand: 'an outstanding act of political one-upmanship'

good at this type of play to capture the attention of visiting VIPs."

Mitterrand then asked Mladić to meet him either in the Bosnian capital or to come to an outside military headquarters on their behalf.

"To my opinion that it's in the interests of Sarajevo to keep the fighting going in the hope that the world will come to its senses, providing by one stroke it looks like the Serbs are solely responsible for perpetuating the chaos. God knows, overall, the majority of the blame rests with the Serbs, however, at this moment in Sarajevo's



Serious business: French journalists as both sides were shooting

vicinity, that is the case, and having done that, pressure him to sit down in the same room with Karadžić so we can at least try to arrange some sort of ceasefire."

"Mises," was the extent of the president's response. I had no idea if he rejected my personal opinion or endorsed it, nor would I ever find out.

After meeting with Bosnian President Izetbegović, Mitterrand proceeded to the airport for his "short" meeting with Serb leader General Ratko Mladić.

I witnessed these and Karadžić's interaction to Mitterrand that he was about to head the summit over to the United Nations and negotiate that they get together for a short meeting. Mitterrand responded that they had to get on their way and that he just wanted to say hello.

As I ran on, machine-guns fire could be heard in the distance and almost immediately two of the Serbian tanks no more than 50 metres away fired in the direction of the suburbs of Tuzla and Dobrinja.

The shock wave from their main guns blasted the crowd around the president and fortunately pushed us all in the direction of the building's front entrance. All the Bosnian Serb weapon systems now opened up and the Muslims started to return fire with a fair degree of vigor. There was no choice. I took the president by the arm and started to move towards the entrance door. "Mr President, I think we should get out of view, perhaps a short meeting in the office." Karadžić commenced a hasty marching injunction of the Muslim forces, referring to Izetbegović's delayed desire to establish a Muslim federal entity state on European territory. From there he tried to convince Mitterrand that all the good Serbs had joined him in his battle against the Muslims and the ones that had remained loyal to the Bosnian presidency were traitors. All the Serbs desired was the right to establish their own independent territory within Bosnia. As citizens of Bosnia didn't the president of France think that they had the right?

Natimard looked Karadžić square in the eye and said, "Perhaps, but you are not going about it the right way."

Talk about succinctness. In one sentence, Natimard had summed up the West's point of view and dismissed Karadžić's arguments.

MacKeecey explained tomorrow's ceasefire during his initial tour of Sarajevo, that more than five hours later than dinner. It was often difficult to determine which side was breaking the agreements, and UN officials in New York refused to allow MacKeecey to have satellite telephone, which would have indicated where the Serbs were (2000) and the largely Muslim Transition Defense Forces (2000) were deployed. Instead, MacKeecey told MacKeecey, he received some satellite telephone surreptitiously from the American military. But he gained great satisfaction in watching what he described as the lack of awareness of UN headquarters about the dangers the personnel were facing on the ground.

JULY 4

The situation in the city deteriorated. Mortar fire banked down at the airport and stayed there to arrive along with the usual reduction in shelling. Both sides were shooting, the Bosnian Serbs being the major culprit because they had the majority of the artillery. Tuzla with both sides to prove but, in my heart would as it had been had to me for over a week saying they had declared all their weapons.

I had requested UN New York provide us with satellite or moon-observer plane imagery so I could prove who was shooting and where, but the request was rejected. I convinced both sides to ask me to ask the United Nations for imagery, which I did, but that request was also rejected.

In the good old days of peacekeeping, it was definitely considered bad taste to say on the people you were trying to help. Bosnia was different, but the UN rules didn't caught up with the new challenges.

An unnamed UN statistic regarding intelligence kept us from gaining the information first was both unreliable and needed. Imagery would have also told us that the Croatian army was dug-in in Bosnia, which would have been nice. UN sources were trying to help but it wasn't easy to get the data to us and where we did receive some of it, we couldn't share it with some of the [non-UN] international nations making up our staff.

That evening, I began to get hints from UN and non-UN defense sources that some nations were standing by with air power to give us a hand if needed.

That was the last thing we needed unless we were being directly attacked as a matter of policy by air, or at three sites in the country.

There is a manager in UN command and staff that the use of air power would disrupt morale and set the side being attacked off, therefore, we had to be very careful as to whom we assigned air support to in regard to protecting our base. It had to be as the one I wanted at all times was the general agreement that the United Nations and the Croatian battles didn't bring to Sarajevo. I was being a bit sarcastic but it was an important name, much more recognizable by our military types and I wanted to make top priority before someone came to our "bunker" and got us all killed.

As the Bosnian Serb forces rallied on and the unspent international community remained on the sidelines, Muslim soldiers and civilians rallied on the United Nations and MacKeecey, fearing that UNPROFOR had not lived up to its name as a protection force.

JULY 11

When I got back to the PTF, I had a chat with Vlak (Perseus), MacKeecey's (mostly) driver. MacKeecey's (mostly) driver was disabled in the exterior. It was a driver of one of our vehicles had been stopped by the TOF and another forced to dismount. On each occasion, the soldiers were looking for "that fucking MacKeecey." With had been in one of the vehicles when it was snatched and he was genuinely concerned for my safety. "They were

really quite unusual when they mentioned your name," he said.

To make matters worse, local newspaper readers had once again started to make fun of our government by referring to us as "MacMunroes." The accusations were so outrageous that they had to be part of a deliberate silence campaign.

Later that evening, Lt-Col Richard Gray told me that one of his UN observers at a T-72 gun position had 30 rounds left. He had to get off because his car by an aide member of the government. "You work for MacKenzie?"

I was devastated. Ordering people to what might be their death in a war for the overall good of the nation is one thing, but asking them to put their lives at risk in what is supposed to be peacekeeping was unacceptable. Far worse was the [Bosnian] presidency underlined, they were fulfilling me in an attempt to discredit me. No one and my people were placed under increased risk as a result. The thought of one of our observers being intentionally shot with my name ringing in his ears before he died was quite honestly horrifying.

I could only assume that the president wanted massive military intervention, which I had explained he would never get while there was a peacekeeping base in his city as potential hostages. Perhaps there was a campaign starting to get rid of us so the door would be open to the possibility of intervention. If that was the case, they were certainly going about it the right way.

Barriers were starting to circulate as the wife was a Serb and that she had been introduced to me by the "Serbian terrorist" Mala Malmgren. Mrs. Malmgren had indeed been born a Serb but left Serbia for Canada when she was five years old and never returned. She must have started her "terrorist" career at a very young age. Before I left, we were members of the presidency added me to pass an order regarding a Mala in us they had lied her very much when they attended university with her at Sarajevo. A terrorist and a university graduate by the years of age—it was impressive.

The war in Bosnia has claimed up to 260,000 lives, many of them civilians by capture or stroke by fire as they wait Sarajevo's stevens. MacKenzie was particularly disturbed by our attack that killed a Bosnian leverage wife, he later told MacKenzie's, "looked as much like my daughter."



Silentwork campaign: The horrific trick was to wait until the medical teams arrive and make the rescuers'

barrier in the parking lot and there was a six-alarm alert at the street and black smoke in the air. We could hear screaming but we couldn't see anyone in the area of the shellfire. The screaming continued and I glanced straight down the front of the building to the tiny grassy verge two floors below us at street level. What I saw will always be my most lasting and terrible memory of Sarajevo.

Seven teenagers had been accepting chocolate bars through a window on the ground floor from some of our people. One of the mothers

"The screaming continued and what I saw will always be my most lasting and horrible memory of Sarajevo"

had been laid in their midst. One youth had lost both his legs, which were now lying on the road and still moving. One other had burst out to pieces and would need amputations. A beautiful girl with long, black hair was on her back on the grass staring straight into my eyes. Her hair was lashed out around her head and I immediately had thoughts of my daughter, Karen. The girl was missing half of her head and her brain was exposed. Mercifully, she died minutes later. The entire area was awash with blood. A car drove up and three of the slightly injured jumped in and took off in the direction of the hospital.

The shock and revulsion only lasted a few seconds. Richard Gray and [British Major] Vanessa Lloyd-Davies quickly organized a rescue party, which rushed down to the scene and brought the casualties to our medical facility. They were brave to do so because the fire

value track in this war was to wait until the medical teams arrive and then fire some more mortars to ensure the rescuers

On July 21, MacKenzie gave another joint conference in Sarajevo where he caused a furor by insisting that while the Serbs knew best "impartiality of responsibility" for the conflict, the mostly Muslim Bosnian government had lied to the fighting group. Those could be as peace in Sarajevo, he said, "because I can't keep the two sides from firing at each other positions for the benefit of oil." The statement outraged the officials in New York City and resulted in MacKenzie being pulled out of Sarajevo to Belgrade "for reconsolidation." He was allowed to return to Sarajevo on July 21 for a few hours as he could do no harm for the planned withdrawal of the Canadian troops who had arrived with him.

JULY 31-AUGUST 1

It was difficult to sleep as there was a total firing going on. This was my last night at the airport and so I stood back from the window and watched the fireworks for hours, mesmerized by the beauty of it all yet, at the same time, realizing that every explosion represented more deaths and suffering. It is a war that should never have started and probably would never end until there was no one left to care.

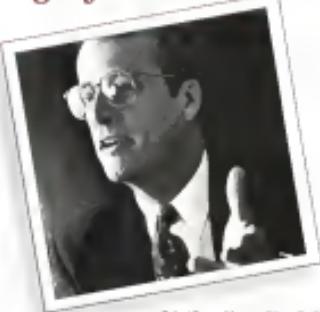
Just before the sun came up, the first group of Canadian soldiers headed off towards Ljubavici in order to the main Belgrade-Zagreb highway some 12 hours away. It was without a doubt the happiest moment of my life. They weren't back in Croatia yet but over 800 soldiers had spent a month in one of the most dangerous places in the world and all left alive. Cpl. [Donald] Reid had lost his foot and 18 others had sustained injuries from shrapnel and shovels' bolts but they were alive and, all things considered, that was a pretty good outcome. I thought a small prayer of thanks—to God and our regimental spirits that protected such good souls and soldiers.

As we took off from Sarajevo airport for the last time, I watched French soldiers running as the dupes in positions left by the Canadian battalion. The surrounding area was pockmarked with shell holes and the roads were blocked by burnt-out vehicles. Hardly a building was without damage and smoke was rising from the centre of the city. As we landed a few thousand feet, the city was transformed into a patchwork of red tile roofs and green parks against a blue sky. Sarajevo was beautiful again as my lead-in-perfect sight was unable to see the scars of war as we gained altitude. Wouldn't it be wonderful, I thought, if it could look like that again down at street level. I glanced at Dejaque. Even from that distance I could see buildings burning □

JULY 12

At 2000h, we were all in our rooms, finally enjoying some peace and the French army's wine section. Conversation had been broken by a good Bengali who, when a number of us soldiers there were a number of lead explodants and the building shook violently. The noise came from the front of the building and without thinking, we ran into our large conference room with our soldiers still facing the mirror. We lined up at the window and looked across the street. A number of cars were

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SPEAKING UP

**CANADIAN AIRLINES
PRESSES OTTAWA
TO REMOVE THE
LAST HURDLES
BLOCKING A LIFE-
SAVING DEAL**

The sense of relief in the Calgary boardroom was palpable. On Aug. 27, after nine months of preparation, the senior managers of cash-strapped PWA Corp., the parent company of Calgary-based Canadian Airlines International Ltd., were approved from shareholders and debt holders for a emergency financial restructuring plan. That approval brought PWA one step closer to meeting the terms of a financing deal with AMR Corp. of Fort Worth, Texas. But although debtors and stakeholders had voted over 96 per cent in favor of the plan, PWA managers did encounter some setbacks. Ted Haskin, a shareholder from Calgary accused PWA management of "misleading" investors about the company's financial problems. He also demanded to know why the independent members of the company's board of directors, none of whom attended the meeting, continued to support the "casual management of the company." After fielding questions, company chairman and chief executive Myra Ryan acknowledged that "I'm not a shareholder, and I can't value my investment till as far, I'd ask tough questions, too."

The hearings marked the end of another hectic week in the besieged airline's struggle to survive. On Aug. 24, PWA's board of directors formally rejected Air Canada's latest merger offer, which is slated to offer to buy eight aircraft from Canadian Airlines as well as its lucrative transnational routes. From the board meeting, Ryan flew to Vancouver to address a large employee rally. There, the increasingly popular tone to the rally moved Canadian's two major airline competitors. While 2,000 Canadian employees signed off on



Employee rally in Vancouver: 'We have to get out and make some real noise'

enlisted in a government airplane hanger, rally organizers urged them to sign petitions demanding federal support for the deal with AMR, the parent company of American Airlines, which has agreed to buy a 50-per-cent stake in Canadian for \$200 million. The to close that deal, PWA needs federal cabinet to allow Canadian to withdraw from the Canadian compensated insurance system, which Canadian and Air Canada jointly own, and sign on with AMR's Swiss system. To press their concerns, Canadian employees marched through Prime Minister Kim Campbell's riding on Aug. 27. Despite Sidney Hartman, chairman of the

Council of Canadian Airlines Employees, "We have to get out there and make some real noise. That's all the people who in here are not. That's all the people who in here are not."

That noise was clearly heard by the Liberal party last week, which attempted to move the lead between Air Canada and Canadian into the election campaign spotlight. Liberal Leader Jean Chretien visited Canadian's Aug. 23 statement that it is up to the courts to resolve the problems between the two corporations in what he called "a process of dialogue." Instead, he told the government to "appreciate an expert facilitator to arbitrate a concourse." Liberal Immigration critic John Stanley told Maclean's that Ottawa must

manage competition and ensure that the two dominant airlines do not either "kill each other or conspire." But he added, "There can't be any protectionism when the two major carriers aren't even talking to each other."

With PWA's financial restructuring plan now endorsed by shareholders and creditors, the only major hurdle to be resolved before the deal with AMR proceeds—and Canadian receives the critical cash infusion of \$246 million—is the dispute over Granta. On Aug. 11, the Ontario Superior Court rejected

through a painful and complex financial restructuring process. Although about 70 per cent of PWA's various classes of creditors supported the restructuring plan in last week's shareholder meeting, water managers at Air Canada insisted that their surprise offer to the company on Aug. 14 was deliberately intended to force the final outcome. As well, last week Air Canada sponsored an aggressive national radio advertising campaign that continued to promote its proposal, despite PWA's formal rejection of what Ryan called a "foolishness" offer.

Ryan's anger over Air Canada's most recent overtures stems from the fact that Air Canada walked away from merger talks last November, over three months after initiating them, when PWA was just weeks away from bankruptcy. Instead, last Nov. 28, the airline ceased payments to all lenders and lessors. In February, PWA presented its restructuring plan to five groups of its creditors, owed a total of \$1.2 billion, and to company shareholders. And last week, they approved that plan.

To reduce the company's debt by about \$730 million, the creditors will swap their debt for new shares in the company; PWA will issue 766 million new shares, bringing its total outstanding to over one billion new shares. For existing common shareholders, that massive dilution of their investment is particularly hard to take. As recently as 1991, the stock was still trading around \$10. But in February, it hit a low of 45 cents, and last week it closed at 59 cents on the Toronto Stock Exchange.

Still, the most significant change resulting from the restructuring is the new level of ownership for Canadian's employees. Because of wage and benefit increases, and also a \$200-million over four years, the employees have earned a total entitlement to over 22 per cent of PWA's outstanding shares.

For each \$100 in reduced wages, the company will issue one share to any employee. That employee entitlement will be monitored by the Council of Canadian Airline Employees, consisting of leaders of five of the airline's unions.

Many of those employees were present at the creditors' meeting last week to watch their personal demands converted into paper. Said Ted MacLean, a Canadian labor agent based in Ottawa, "You just can't let a whole company fail because one department doesn't want to change."

Whether or not Canadian meets AMR's deadline, company managers and employees have overcome huge odds just by keeping Canadian alive over the past year. With their backs against the wall, Ryan has led them

Business Notes

A BAY NIGHTMARE

The Toronto Stock Exchange, which has lagged behind other major international stock markets, finally surpassed the record it set in prior to the 1987 stock market crash. On Aug. 25, the TSX 300 index closed at 3,228, closing out the old mark of 3,112.8 set on Aug. 15, 1992, then moved in close the week at 3,133.8 points.

ICE SHEER BATTLE

Lake Louise—of Canada applied to the Federal Court of Canada for an injunction to prevent archrival Molson Breweries from using the term "ice beer" in advertising four of its brands. Lake claims that it also owns a potential ice-beer product. The court hearing began in March, when Lake submitted a lengthy introduction for its brand of beer, but was upstaged by Molson, which rushed in to brand its own to market a few days earlier.

A BOARDROOM RAID

More than 60 police officers searched offices at Volkswagen's world headquarters in Wolfsburg, Germany, in an escalating probe of possible corporate spying by former General Motors executives. Two days ago Lopez de Arromona, General Motors' attorney, said Lopez took company secrets with him when he defected to Volkswagen in March. Lopez steadfastly denies the allegation, which could result in criminal charges.

MCDONALD'S RETREATS

McDonald's Restaurants of Canada Ltd. withdrew a carts selling hot dogs that it had deployed around Toronto's SkyDome after just five days of operation. Under intense media scrutiny, McDonald's claimed that it had issued a recall and pulled the carts over four years. The employees have earned a total entitlement to over 22 per cent of PWA's outstanding shares. For each \$100 in reduced wages, the company will issue one share to any employee. That employee entitlement will be monitored by the Council of Canadian Airline Employees, consisting of leaders of five of the airline's unions.

Many of those employees were present at the creditors' meeting last week to watch their personal demands converted into paper. Said Ted MacLean, a Canadian labor agent based in Ottawa, "You just can't let a whole company fail because one department doesn't want to change."

Whether or not Canadian meets AMR's deadline, company managers and employees have overcome huge odds just by keeping Canadian alive over the past year. With their backs against the wall, Ryan has led them

Family Feud

A fight between the McCain brothers threatens their food empire

As boys during the Great Depression years and into their teens during the Second World War, Harrison and Wallace McCain, brothers only 2½ years apart in age, went to school together and played games together in the village of Plessisville on the upper Saint John River, New Brunswick potato country. As young men out of university, as managerial plugs with K.C. Irving enterprises, they gained reputations for playing hard and working harder. In their late 30s, they and their two older brothers had already got into the business of turning raw potatoes into frozen french fries. Over the 38 years since their first plant opened in Plessisville in 1957, they widened their market as far afield as Australia and expanded their product line to frozen fruit juice, pizzas and other foods. That's more, the older of the two was the travelled: Wallace managed the business at home. They live next door to each other and work in offices linked by an unlocked door. There, last year, differences arose between Harrison, now 55, and Wallace, 52, over the leadership of an enterprise with assets of \$1.8 billion, 32,500 employees and worldwide sales worth \$3 billion annually. Last week, the brothers' fight became public in court, casting shadows of doubt over the future of the family firm.

Even now, the two sound like gruffly laggards. Wallace, the plaintiff in a lawsuit launched last week said, of Harrison, who he had just spent the day with: "Of course we'll be talking in each other's ear. He's my best friend." And Harrison, the defendant, told *Maclean's*: "He's a good fella, all right."

Despite the brotherly sentiments, Wallace alleges in a case to be tried in September, that Harrison is trying to push him out of their company, McCain Foods Ltd. At a meeting of the family holding company board on Aug. 13, a majority agreed with Harrison that Wallace should leave his job by Sept. 30. Harrison says that he favors recruit-



Harrison (left) and Wallace McCain flank banker Robbie at 1993 award ceremony

ing younger executives to leadership, whether that be from inside or outside the family. Wallace claims that two years ago, they debated decisions on their successors in a committee of four outside corporate executives, members of McCain's operating board. Like an army, family-business succession battles, several of which have left the company in the hands of outsiders (page 38), the rift at McCain's seems headed for a nasty, protracted fight that will leave scars so both the business and the family. The battle also threatens one of Canada's most successful multinationals.

The fight between the brothers actually involves not only their children, cousins and nephews, but, more surprisingly, in a family that has guarded its privacy, public-relations professionals. Three days after

the Aug. 17 meeting of the family board, a Toronto public-relations firm, representing Wallace, began making claims to editors at a few news outlets. The gist of the information they conveyed was that a disagreement between members of a grand McCain family—two names were most threatened—was about to come to roost. The firm failed to provide any names or names of reporters who the source said he had informed as soon as the court doc-

uments were filed and the identities of the litigants became public.

For the McCains, these approaches to the media were unusual. Although in recent years, as the company flourished, Harrison began granting media interviews. Wallace remained in the background. It was mainly Harrison who earned accolades for the company's success, even though he always pointed out that his brother shared chief executive duties with him. In 1990, for instance, Marion's included Harrison in its annual House of Citizens who enjoy exceptional contributions to Canada and *The Financial Post* selected Harrison as CEO of the year.

The brothers are different in appearance and manner, as well as in the public attention they receive. Harrison, who organized the company's founders, built its Kenora operations and is chairman of McCain Foods Ltd., is an outgoing salesman, shorter, rounder and balding than his brother. Last year, he had a brush with death when he suffered a heart attack during surgery, an event that Wallace's court documents suggest may be having an impact on Harrison. People who have dealt with Harrison—and that seems to be almost everyone in New Brunswick—mark on his energies and usually good-natured conversation.

Wallace, the company's point man, on the other hand, is talk tanky and worn key. While Harrison jostled around the world, selling french fries, Wallace tended to administrative duties and the company's North American operations. He also spent much time in Plessisville, a picture-perfect village where the McCain plant dwarfs the rest of the town and the cemetery has its own fenced-off section for McCain plots (page 38). The two brothers even have different religions: in their *Wallace* biography, Harrison says that he is Presbyterian, while Wallace is Anglican. That difference may not mean much, however. As one friend observed, comparing with laughter: "Bob, they're businesspeople. They're wearing one god, the god of the spot."

Wallace only began to emerge from the family's shadow three years ago, in April, 1990, when Wallace was 50. At that time Harrison made his second of several attempts to remove him as co-CEO; they were merely inducted into McCain's Business Hall of Fame. As a black-tie dinner in Toronto, where Paul of Nova Scotia chairman Gérard Bégin presented the honor, the brothers dropped so low off their rok to find acceptance

speeches. In early August, just days before Jim Joseph was filed, Wallace talked to *The Financial Post* in what his son Michael says was his first interview in 20 years.

Despite their differences, people who have worked with the brothers say that they appeared to have enjoyed a close partnership. "We only seen them working as a team," said one senior Ottawa official. "They are very different kinds of people, but they were complementary." Adds another senior business acquaintance: "When I read about their difference in the newspaper, I was shocked, because from everything I'd seen of them, they were a tightly knit family that got along together exceedingly well." They had, and that when he discussed war stories between them with Harrison, "He'd say 'I better check this out with Bob.' Sometimes I'd think it wasn't the kind of thing they'd do, but, hell, he'd think it was important enough to run it by Bob."

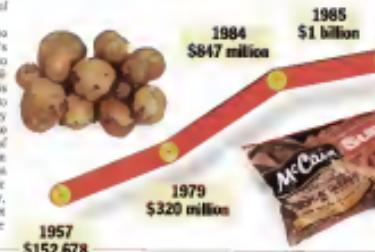
Despite the兄弟' cordial down-to-earth image in New Brunswick, most of the legal maneuvering by McCain's law team apparently related to an issue on the record about the brothers' disagreement. Fred Dales, business affairs spokesman for McCain in the Fredericton region, few people know more about raising the issue of a McCain: "They might not like it if they know I was talking about them," and one potato farmer. "The farmer who sells half of his crop to the McCains, and that the dispute involved a severe even closer to home for him. He shares a home with his brother. 'I realize that we're not 20 years apart and I'd sooner start a war.'

Indeed, says James McNaught, the head of the family of management at Dalhousie University in Halifax, his family business, regardless of size, the question of what happens when the founders leave is the single most difficult issue to resolve. "We're old schoolmen to start schools in three generations," and McNaught: "The approach builds the company, the son uses it and the grandson loses it. It's not a new problem. That three-generation thing was recognized way back in the 1700s in England."

The succession question is a central factor in the McCain dispute. In

1993
\$3 billion

MCCAIN FOOD REVENUES



He and might be identified as the person who in the future, should succeed," said the statement. "Michael 16-G City did not wish Michael McCarron to be that person." Michael, one of Wallace's four children, oversees McCarron's U.S. market operations from a base in Chicago. Though he has been regarded by some as the likeliest successor candidate, he told *Sharkfin* that he is not pushing for the job. "I guess I'm 24. I've got the kids. I've just built a new house," he said. "I don't want the job right now."

Wallace's court statement details several proposals the brothers made to each other to settle their disagreement, none of them acceptable to both. Now Wallace is asking the court to allow him to keep his present job at McCawair, failing that, to divide the company in half, giving both brothers an equal share.

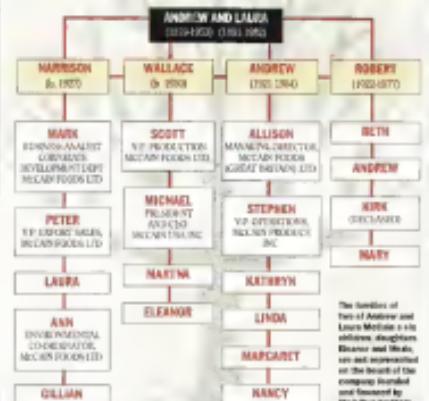
Hanson, for his part, said a brief press release noting that "the fact remains that Wal-Mart and I are two businesses in our 90s that stop a Kibbithn enterprise that is in great shape. To make sure that it stays that way in the future, we need to find a new CEO to take over." He then gave his reasons: "There are lots of reasons. Three families that together own most of the shareholders think [Wal-Mart] should be split up." Hanson then quoted: "I have recommended split or it's a chance to do better. I think it's a good idea. I think it's time [Wal-Mart] does this. The stores will get world-class through negotiation or a legal process or both and we will start looking for a new CEO. I think the best person for the job will locate or outside the company, it doesn't matter. We just want the best."

The defense, however, is not clear about Harrison's plans. Walker's statement about that Harrison intends to remain chairman. And despite the name of his press release, Harrison, while declining to discuss details, said that he is not planning to leave. "That's not what I have in mind," he said. "Mark, I've got to go home to write a book. I want to write a book about business." He said that he has no "locked down" list of sites of "getting a guy or two to run the company, who are 45 or 50 years old, rather than 65 or 66. It would be the right time to do."

Before 2001, solving the succession problem, as for any other company, was a matter for the two brothers who were equal partners in the business they founded. But in that year, according to Wallace's statement of claim, he and Harrison agreed to appoint six of their sons and nephews, plus a longtime employee, to the board of the family holding company. At the same time, they imagined sole responsibility for selecting successors is the function of the board committee of the operating company, McCain Foods Ltd. But at the family holding company's board meeting on April 17, the six of the seven board members supported the resolution to remove Wallace. His two sons, Michael and Scott, opposed the move. Support came from Harrison's two sons, Mark and Peter, and from Andrew and Michael McCain, sons of the two deceased brothers. George McClure, the longtime employee who worked with Harrison or Tapscott operations, also stood with the majority. Wallace alleges in his statement of claim that the majority voted against him because of "malice" from Harrison.

In an interview with *Markets* last week, Alison McCaig, who runs the company's operations in Great Britain, offered this explanation for why Wallach's removal: "We have to make an active

THE McCRAIN FAMILY TREE



2000-2001: *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 96: 1000-1001.

many good business people. As an early co-worker recently remarked, "I think the McSorley family is the best in the business." S.C. is a good place to do business, and they don't act like regular business men. "Doris [they would] make a cake for early customers." They "sweat like trojans" and "load large work, long periods and fast rates." They thought nothing of staying up all night and then putting in a 15-hour day the following day." In a 1980 interview with *The Financial Post*, Harrison described how they have: "Both of us believe Wallace is good at administration and purchasing. I did the basic financing. Both of us did the selling. You can always have a guy to run the office, but you can't have a guy to sell if you're not there."

Like succession should be easy. But it is not. And, as apply for the partnership, all the lawyers and public relations experts in the country may not be able to put the McCains back together again.

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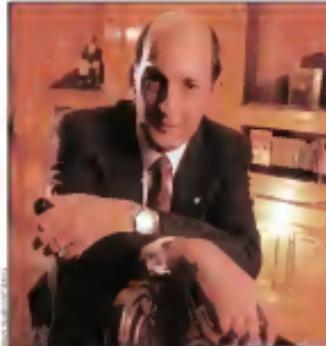
Divided dynasties

Fights over family fortunes usually leave deep scars

Although they have almost all the material comforts that money can buy, many of Canada's wealthiest families have been split by bitter feuds over control of their family businesses. Once they start fighting, few ever start peace with one another. A review of some of the nastiest squabbles.

THE GERSTEINS

On July 29, Martin Gerstein, the son of the founder of Peoples Jewellers Ltd., gained his revenge over his nephews Irving, whom he accused of running Canada's largest jeweller almost like a gangster. Once they start fighting, few ever start peace with one another. A review of some of the nastiest squabbles.



Charles Broofinca: a painful split between cousins

THE BRONFMANS

Struggling as bootleggers in Manitoba during U.S. Prohibition in the 1920s, Sam and Alvin Bronfman built the Montreal-based Seagram Co. into the world's largest distiller. But the mercurial Sam Bronfman arrested his more polished younger brothers—and often locked them craftily behind his back. On one occasion during the Second World War, after Alvin enrolled in an officer training course in Montreal, Sam reportedly remarked, "A few more like him and Hitler's got a chance." In the 1960s, in a series of scarcely plotted corporate maneuverings, Sam's aqua-card Alvin's two sons, Peter and Edward, out of the family business, turning over control instead to his own two sons, Charles and Edie. Steag by the notion, Peter and Edward built a corporate empire of their own, the E&E Edie group of companies. Although the group has suffered some sharp setbacks over the past three years, it still controls London Life Insurance Co., among just Noranda Inc. and chains of other companies. However, almost half a century after Sam and Alvin founded the two branches of the family still rarely speak to one another.

THE WOODWARDS

Ever since Charles Woodhead opened his first department store in Vancouver in 1892, the Woodward name has been synonymous with retailing in Western Canada. But a bitter family dispute and the 1990-91 recession finally destroyed what the family patriarch created. The Woodward retail empire began to crumble in 1986 when Garry (Woolly) MacLean, president of Woodward's Ltd. and cousin of Woodward's chairman Charles (Chuck) Woodhead, learned that his father-in-law had been backed by CIBC and First Corp. Ltd. of Toronto which wanted the Garry and estate assets. Chuck managed to outmaneuver his cousin and ultimately defeated him in court. But after the family remained embittered and divided—and the stores began to lose money. To restructure, Chuck sold off the company's assets at a dizzying pace over the next three years. He retired in 1988, and just two years later, at 66, he died of a heart attack. That left his sons, William, 34, and Christopher, 33, to save the company. But they were unable to overcome the recession. Last May, Woodward's was swallowed by the Hudson's Bay Company—ending a century-old tradition. It is one of ten last interviews. Chuck reflected on the lead that triggered the firm's downward spiral. "That was disappointing," said Chuck. "It pitted family against family."

THE BALLARDS

Three years after Harold Ballard died, the contentious former owner of the Toron-



Harold and Yolanda Ballard: a legacy of lawsuits

to Maple Leaf is still creating legal headaches for his children, his former business associates and his attorney. In his will, Ballard directed that all the assets of his personal holding company, Harold E. Ballard Ltd., including its 49-per-cent controlling stake in Maple Leaf Gardens Ltd., be sold and the proceeds turned over to charity. But the

year before Ballard died, his son Bill had said he was over-owner of the holding company, which had been held in a trust for Bill. His sister Mary Elizabeth and his brother Harold Jr. Ballard bought back control of Mary Elizabeth and Harold Jr.'s stakes in 1989, but Bill refused to sell his one-third stake back to his father and argued that the deal with Harold Jr. was incomplete. After Harold died, Bill pressed on with the lawsuit against Gardens chairman Steve Savoie, the manager of his father's estate. Although Bill shelved his lawsuit in 1991, the estate has yet to sell the Gardens shares—and the charities have not received a penny. Meanwhile, lawyers for the estate are still litigating with Ballard's former companion, Yolanda Ballard, who has sued the estate for \$80,000-a-year that he left her in his will.

THE BIRKSES

For decades, Birk's jewellers' watch-like gift boxes have been a tradition at festive occasions across Canada. But in 1991, Brucewood Diamonds as "Birks" became sole control of the jewellry firm that had been in his family since 1870 by acquiring an cousin

Robert Birks in an ownership dispute. Birks' son proceeded to promote his three sons, Jonathan, Thomas and Barry, to senior positions in the company. That triggered an acrimonious ownership struggle. In 1989, Thomas Birks offered to buy out his two brothers but under the conditions of a 1988 so-called shotgun agreement among the three, the other brothers then had the right to make the same offer to Thomas. In the end, both Thomas and Barry agreed to sell out and leave the business. Jonathan, the eldest of the three, waited no time in replacing his brothers on Birks' board of directors with such corporate heavyweights as Toronto financier Gordon Black. He also filled the stores with glitz, expensive merchandise designed to appeal to young, affluent customers. But Jonathan's gamble backfired. When the economy plunged into a recession, suddenly the chain with merchandise that could not sell and debts it could not pay. Last January, Brucewood Diamonds Ltd. filed for protection from its creditors and, with fifth-generation owner Bergman G.S. Ltd. and his daughter, Martha Goldfarb, were planning to sell their 60 per cent holding interest in the family firm to a group of Canadian Tire dealers for \$300 million. Birks, who had already closed one bottling nephew out of the company, was now on the hook to allow other family members to sell what he had worked so hard to build up. He summoned his children to a meeting in his Toronto apartment to resolve the situation—but it quickly turned into a verbal brawl. Martha, who he once described as a "red-haired devil," started from his horns. To his anguish, the children pressed ahead, but their plan were vetoed by the Ontario Securities Commission. Since then, the ownership question has languished. A.J., as he is popularly known, is now 90. During the takeover battle, he told Maclean's that he expects his children will eventually sell out. "I really they have the right to sell," said A.J. "But morally they don't."



Alfred J. Birks blocking a sale by his children

THE BILLESSES

Founder of the Canadian Tire Corporation, it was a question of loyalty and tradition. But for his three children, if all folded down in a question of money. In 1986, Bill Billes, who founded the hardware-store-supply chain in 1927, got wind of some disturbing news. His sons, Bruce and Alfred W. Billes, and his daughter, Martha Goldfarb, were planning to sell their 60 per cent holding interest in the family firm to a group of Canadian Tire dealers for \$300 million. Billes, who had already closed one bottling nephew out of the company, was now on the hook to allow other family members to sell what he had worked so hard to build up. He summoned his children to a meeting in his Toronto apartment to resolve the situation—but it quickly turned into a verbal brawl. Martha, who he once described as a "red-haired devil," started from his horns. To his anguish, the children pressed ahead, but their plan were vetoed by the Ontario Securities Commission. Since then, the ownership question has languished. A.J., as he is popularly known, is now 90. During the takeover battle, he told Maclean's that he expects his children will eventually sell out. "I really they have the right to sell," said A.J. "But morally they don't."



Milt Steinberg: a lead when Milt prepared to sell the company

THE STEINBERGS

There was always a job for a family member at Steinberg Inc. Perhaps too many. Sam Steinberg immigrated to Montreal with his mother Ida from Hungary and in 1926 she opened a small grocery store in the heart of the city's Jewish district. He took over in 1946, and Steinberg Inc. eventually grew into a giant grocery retailer with annual sales of \$1.5 billion. As it grew, Sam Steinberg involved dozens of relatives in the company—including his daughters Evelyn, Marilyn and Milt. He died in 1978, and in 1988, after leaving the helm of one Steinberg's troubled subsidiaries, Milt threw himself into the operation of the family trust funds, which were being run by Evelyn and Marilyn. Their disagreements were

acute and came to a head when Milt prepared to sell the company. Outraged, Evelyn and Marilyn wanted Milt removed from Steinberg's board of directors. Milt dragged them into court in a battle for control. As they fought, the firm began to lose money. Stores were closed and employees dismissed. Quebec Preoyer Robert Bourassa called for an end to the bickering. But as the firm's troubles mounted, pressure to sell increased. In 1990, a group of investors led by the provincial's powerful Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec purchased the supermarkets for \$250 million. But the wounds within the family may take years to heal. "I'm a fighter," said Marilyn, "and Milt is a fighter, too."



McCain wars: end of a family firm

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

I remember the family shade.

Or so the theory goes. Last week's dramatic lawsuit by Wallace McCain against his brother Harrison and another one of Canada's great families, turning Flin Flon's once-peasant Reverend Drivin in the heart of New Brunswick, into an armed camp.

Knowing into the McCain brothers personally and having been exposed to their stoic and determined determination to turn their little potato chip plant into a world-wide enterprise—made by being stubborn enough to make a male blurb—claims are that the \$2-billion food empire will now be sold to some faceless multinational. That would be a shame.

There has been McCain in the Saint John River Valley since the 1890s. The family belongs to the place just as it belongs to them. It was here 70 years ago that the local school trustees, Lauri (Bianche) Pirkey, next Andrew McCain, who had started exporting local potatoes to Argentina. I recall interviewing Lauri McCain in 1983 when she was 96, and we were—over there—about the lack of the family company's successive generations, wondering which of her children's children would be around. "We may farmers make a grave mistake," she told me, admiringly referring to her own family, "that if they're a boy go into business with him, they forget that he's not the son, and they had better let that boy grow the inner circle so he can carry on. So many men forget that they're not forever, and that the boys better know all about it." Her own husband had died without a will, and she had to administer the estate herself, offsetting the company's debts, devolving assets to the then-straggling enterprise in new ways, including her son and the children's.

Apart from the fact that the McCains have always prided themselves on being an integral part of their community and a cornerstone factor in the larger culture of created New Brunswick, they have run a tightfisted empire entirely ruled by their Presbyterian up-

The current McCain debate raises many larger issues about the continuing viability of family dynasties in an age when most corporate empires have become as mean as they are testy, and the comfortable—if sometimes patrolling—ways of a group暮t agreement seem vaguer and lessened and not of place.

This country was built on the evolution of family firms into national institutions—Borden, Macmillan-Harrington, St. Lawrence, Bell—companies once at the forefront of their trades that sustained their human base but at the same time fostered an atmosphere of caring for their employees and clustering with their communities. The idea of the family business was based on both as much as on economics, with the family need being passed through generations. Indeed is the essential life force of each enterprise. That's a hard quality to define and harder still to reproduce.

At its best, the family firm became a kind of community trust. Because the people who lived in the surrounding community were the same as the people who worked there, an attitude of trust tolerance was set up. Family management tended to house hard and long before laying off their neighbors, and the neighbor in turn would house hard and long before organizing themselves into militant unions. Whatever its faults—and the main one was the clear absence of accountability—the system did work and it was far more humane than its opposite: businesses run by a barefaced multinational firm that switches locations with the weather.

Yet as earlier have appealing the idea of the family enterprise might be, its reality has become a degraded currency. Too often the third generation sons and daughters simply don't possess the hunger to make good. But which had propelled the family's leading in their field of knowing in new directions, they have looked long and hard that their inheritance was guaranteed to throw off about those flaws forever.

It's only when you investigate the detailed history of Canadian firms that you realize how many local enterprises once flourished in that country, and have quickly they disappeared. Ted Blakiston, a historian who once lived and worked in Ottawa, recently recalled that the little Ontario town on the shores of Lake Couchiching once could boast of a prominent manufacturing base. In factories were owned by names that have long vanished from memory but at the time they were substantial people running substantial assets. The company recently issued a letter to you and me, J. B. Langdale, R. J. Suddon, C. J. Miller, E. Long, W. H. Crowley, James and Sam Bailey, Alexander Penney, William Clegg, T. C. Tait, D. C. Thompson, D. H. Church, A. J. Maguire, M. W. Pemberton, George Viles, J. H. Bass, C. H. Hale and T. B. Clegg. These names and so many others out of the past were once an important part of Canada's economic life.

Now, they count for nothing. If the McCains can't settle their feud, they'll suffer exactly the same fate.



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'Oh my God, it could be me'



In the nearly five years since her diagnosis, 35-year-old Evelyn Hildebrandt has suffered the symptom common to many carriers of the HIV virus—diarrhea, swollen lymph nodes, headaches and a general achy fatigue. But the Vancouver native has also experienced, apparently, changes that she does not understand, and she has had big and big pains, a symptom that seems to be causing young women with the virus, she says, but one that has not been studied. Hildebrandt has also encountered a health-care establishment that is accustomed to dealing with HIV and AIDS among gay men. "Once, I was having blood work done and a lab technician said to me, 'You're so brave! If I was HIV-positive I would give a gun and shoot myself,'" says Hildebrandt. "I was completely floored!" Women nurses and technicians "could hardly believe young gay

AIDS is striking a growing number of Canadian women

"men," she adds. "But when a young woman comes in, it's suddenly real and personal and 'Oh my God, it could be me!'"

For a growing number of women, HIV and AIDS are immediate and personal and very real. The World Health Organization predicts that women will make up half of the world's new AIDS cases by the year 2000. Most of them will be developing countries. But AIDS is taking an increasing toll among women in Canada, as well—from 24 new cases

reported in 1985 to 66 new cases in 1991. According to the latest figures issued by the federal Laboratory Centre for Disease Control, a total of 496 women aged 15 and over have developed AIDS since 1981—an average of one new case every 10 days. And although the centre does not collect nationwide statistics for HIV infection, Dr. Maureen Burke, the centre's medical epidemiologist, says that annual studies—an anonymous test of discarded blood samples to determine the HIV status of pregnant women—indicate that AIDS is a growing problem.

Preliminary results in Newfoundland were partially startling: of 5,200 women tested, six were HIV-positive—and most of them came from a single health unit in eastern Newfoundland. Meanwhile, independent of that study, health officials have found 30 positive cases in the Corporation's 93

guys—25 of them young women. Newfoundland, says Roberts, "is the last place in Canada where I would have guessed an AIDS epidemic could happen." The cases, with Dr. Paul Stratton, Newfoundland's director of disease control, "have confirmed that this is a disease that can very easily be spread among the general population."

Until recently, most women diagnosed with the HIV infection in the United States were intravenous drug users. But in Canada, since the first problem inлеве less women, heterosexual activity has always been the highest risk factor for women. In both countries, off-the-rack diagnosis of women is frequently delayed. "The first problem is that this is often not suspected," Roberts says. "If a gay man walks into a doctor's office and says that he is tired and has lost weight, the doctor will immediately suspect AIDS. If a woman walks in and says she is tired and has lost weight, the doctor may not think of it."

As well, while many symptoms and AIDS-related diseases are the same in men and women, there are differences. In particular, says Dr. Catherine Hankins, a Montreal public health epidemiologist, HIV-positive women are more likely than men who do not have the virus to experience gynecological complications, poly-inflammatory disease, vaginal yeast infections and abnormalities on Pap smears that respond poorly to treatment. Among AIDS-defining diseases, women more often develop a skin cancer common among male AIDS sufferers. They do not, however, get more frequent infections of the esophagus and extreme weight loss.

Also, five years ago, Evelyn Hildebrandt suddenly developed multiple vaginal infections and throat infections, as well as others. But only after telling her doctor a couple of times that she had been in an HIV support group did he tell her what this was! She did, however, agree to let him. "He did what he was programmed to do," says Hildebrandt. "He told me that I wasn't at risk, she tried to calm me." Sad, Hildebrandt says that the staff was "surprised for a long time" in early 1990, just one or two years after she was diagnosed.

A year after her diagnosis, Hildebrandt met a 30-year-old scientist at a children's grocery store. She says, "She told him about her HIV status on their second date. "By sad coincidence, she was very but not sick enough not to pursue the relationship," says

Hildebrandt. "Three years ago, they were married. It's been kind of difficult. At the same time that we're trying to build a marriage and work through all the things we have to work through, we are also trying to come to terms with the reality. Our house is off-the-grid and water, a lot of laughter and a lot of tears." She and her husband use safe sex practices, she says, but even that can have an emotional impact. "There's a lot of guilt in a relationship," he continues, a symptom of the disease.

Hildebrandt met her job as a claims examiner with a health insurance company last summer. In her office, she says, other HIV-positive people—her co-workers—have a culture of transparency—honesty, openness. And a friend diagnosed at about the same time came down with dental complications. The friend recovered, but "I feel like I'm still vulnerable," says Hildebrandt. She is also concerned about who will care for her. She has read that 80 per cent of women with disabilities or illnesses are also cared for by their spouses. "It's quite frightening that the more ill I become, the more likely I could be abandoned," she says, adding that when she discusses it with her husband, he is upset that she would even think he "could be one of those."

In fact, part of what distinguishes HIV-positive

providers, they don't want to risk losing their patients, or risk the stigmatization of their jobs if their status is known, so they will not tell us much out for services."

Just as Randy Coopers of Burnmouth, N.S., built infected with HIV, went public with their story, but only after they discussed the decision with their son, Gao. So, says Janet Coopers, 13-year-old Gao has had plenty of support from friends and relatives. Janet contracted HIV from Randy, a homophobe. Randy Coopers recently received compensation from the Nova Scotia government. Now, the couple is struggling to come to terms with Gao's future. "We still hope we'll be there in his high-school graduation," says Janet. "But we're not sure if we'll be able to afford it," she says. "It's a financial burden we'll probably pass on." They are making plans to have relatives care for Gao. "There's a lot of guilt involved," she says. "The guilt of leaving him through death before he has a chance to be born, the guilt of not having the energy to be the kind of parents that we wanted to be." She once thought of trying to make Gao eat. "We had 'no eat' if I ate, it wasn't healthy," she says. "She says, beginning to cry. "They're stupid, pedantic things, trying to protect him, trying to make this as easy as we can."

For some women, it is not the reason why but the absence of family that is most difficult. "Gay men have a lot of social support," says Hildebrandt. Even if they are sometimes rejected by their families, she says, "They can talk to other men who've gone through the same situation. Our women can't talk to anybody." That problem is especially acute in smaller communities that, unlike major centres, do not have networks of HIV-positive women.

The Winnipeg woman, who asked to remain anonymous, has been attending an HIV support group, but all the other members are gay men. "I just don't feel a part of them," she says. "The guys have got each other, even if they don't have a family." The woman's own family visits her sparingly, she says, and some of them will not let her touch their children. "Nearly 20 years old, she has spent much of her life on the streets—she is one of the majority of Canadian women who contracted HIV through anonymous drug use, although she says that she has been straight for three years. "I went to the police before I died, and remembered everything," she says. But these remakes in aided status attached to a once-proud HIV "hero" that the beneficiaries are using a little bit of sympathy—but will still tell no one. "The disease itself isn't as bad as the loneliness and being ostracized I went with people would understand that we're not dangerous, we're human, we're lonely."

MARY NEMETH with SEANON DODGE
MANAGER OF TESTS



Testing blood. Hildebrandt (opposite): differences in men's and women's symptoms

five women from their male counterparts is not good, but social. "They want to be good mothers and partners," says Alan Mair, director of the Women and AIDS Project in Nova Scotia. "If their partner is HIV-positive, women want to take better care of him, as well, women tend to take better care of their partners than themselves." And for infected parents, especially single mothers, concern about money could prove a barrier to seeking support. Says Mair's colleague, "Many of these women are sole

Lost in space

A mission to Mars turns into a costly fiasco

It was the most sophisticated unmanned space vehicle ever built. Sent to nearly a point up to a point to study the red planet, the \$1.76-billion Mars Observer had been almost flawlessly built and test-flown. Then, just three days before the craft was scheduled to begin orbiting Mars, National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) controllers abruptly lost contact. Technicians frantically sought to establish communications, but by week's end, they had failed to do so. While outside experts speculated that a technical glitch may have caused the craft to blow up, some NASA officials feared that the Observer had bypassed Mars and begun a silent voyage around the sun. Whatever happened, the mission's failure would be a major setback for interplanetary exploration—and for NASA itself. "We'll see a political fire storm," predicted John Logsdon, a space policy analyst at George Washington University in Washington. "NASA's programs



Mars Observer: 'We terrible, terrible, terrible'

are in justin trouble, they are in jeopardy.'

The Observer's mysterious fate could not have come at a worse time for the US space program, which has suffered a string of costly failures. If all had gone well, the Observer eventually would have settled into an orbit 21 miles over the Martian poles and circled the planet for about 32 Earth months, taking photographs and studying the Martian environment as a preliminary step for any future manned flight. If the Observer mission proves to be a write-off, it will be politically difficult to find funding for another mission.

Congress, which re-wrote both the summer re-enactment of the 1993 budget, is searching for ways to slash costs to shrink the federal deficit to about \$100 billion. "There are no easy answers," says another NASA source. "It's a real challenge to meet another price tag to Mars," added Logsdon. "There are important priorities here on Earth."

At the very least, long delays seemed likely. A White House official who requested anonymity said that the space program might have to wait for President Bill Clinton's second term "to get the sort of funds that NASA needs to get back on track." Added an adviser to Senate Republicans leader

Bob Dole, who also worked to obtain an agency budget: "The American people are growing tired of NASA failures. There isn't much support for big spending until the economy recovers enough and unemployment falls."

The Observer's problem became apparent just before the re-enactment of the budget, which prioritized in allowing craft and crews to visit an orbit around Mars. The onboard radio, which had been closed down because of vibrations expected during re-enactment, could not be switched on again. "It's terrible, terrible, terrible," moaned Arthur Aller, a planetary scientist involved in the project. In the desperate hope that a minor technical problem was responsible for Observer's silence, scientists tried to connect the spacecraft's transceiver messages every 20 minutes and trying to reprogram computers and start backup systems—but to no avail.

Despite the Observer's continuing silence, NASA officials said that the spacecraft's computers may have automatically put it into a Mars orbit. If the craft was damaged, it was more likely to have drifted past Mars, into a wider orbit around the sun. That would leave a slim possibility that scientists could at some point regain control of the spacecraft; if they succeeded, they might be able to put it into orbit around Mars when it passes near the planet again in about two years. But many scientists, noting that the

problem occurred in the fuel tanks were being pressurized, had already reached a more pessimistic conclusion. "Most probably there was an explosion," said John Pike, a space policy analyst with the Washington-based Federation of American Scientists. "Our precious Mars Observer could be in total pieces."

In the face of failed missions, politicians increasingly turn to the agency to ask whether the agency has lost its touch. Many critics argue that instead of cutting funding on large, complex projects, NASA should develop smaller, less-expensive space vehicles. NASA wants to do its big things," said Jean Johnson Prestridge, a space analyst with the US Air War College at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, Ala. "Unfortunately, that sometimes backfires when an engineering glitch occurs."

The agency's biggest current project is the \$2.5-billion space station, for which major components are being designed and built in Canada by Toronto's Space Aerospace Ltd. and other firms. The station is scheduled to go into orbit near the end of the century. Can governments agree on funding for the scaled-down space station by a cut-off date in June? New pressure could develop in Congress to divert funding away from the station—unless the Mars Observer breaks its ominous silence and revives enthusiasm for costly and difficult ventures into space.

WILLIAM LOWTHORPE Washington



The Observer mission appeared to be the latest in a string of disasters involving NASA's space vehicles. The misfatuions began in 1986, when the spectacular explosion of the shuttle Challenger killed all seven astronauts aboard. After the \$8-billion Hubble Space Telescope was launched in April 1990, scientists discovered a flaw in its primary mirror that limited the telescope's usefulness. And by a cruel coincidence, less than five hours of

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Where are the colorful characters?

BY TRENT FRAYNE

One soft evening in the spring of 2002, Tom Broda turned up in Stanley Park in Burnaby, Man., wearing a pale blue leather jacket with a knitted collar and a white crew with Tassotti Maple Leaf stitched in blue on the crest. Tom sat on a park bench and a bunch of us kids gathered around and he answered all our questions about his first season of playing pro in the National Hockey League, and to this day, more than a century later, I remember the feel of the smooth blue leatherness. I ran my hand across Tom's mashed arms. He and all the Leafs had been great players like that to keep.

The other day, the sensational current goal tender of the Maple Leafs, Roberto Luongo, was talking from Montreal on an all sports radio station in Toronto. He had been asked about a 35-year-old contract his agent is seeking for him. The interviewer wondered if Tom thought he was worth \$2 million for one season. Tom responded: "I think I want to sound bound in a seemed life with what other top goalkeepers were making—Grant Fuhr, Ed Belfour, Patrick Roy—all of them over a million." We'll see what happens. Tom said a couple of times he was wrong. French-accented Tom. He didn't seem happy. Not like Tom Broda, anyway, talking about the Maple Leaf jacket he had.

Today's pros don't appear to find much joy in what they're doing or in what they're accomplished. They don't seem to have the pride of an earlier generation. King Clancy never negotiated a contract in his life. "Where do I work?" he'd ask his old boss, Conn Smythe. Jim Coleman used to tell a story of Red Dutton who, when he was playing for the old Montreal Maroons, took so many penalties that his coach, Eddie Gerard, broached his Dutton and demanded to be reinstated as coach.

"I'll put you back in the lineup, you can't afford to be left out," Gerard said.

"Temper," cried Dutton. "There's nothing

Today's pros don't appear to find much joy in what they're doing. They don't seem to have the pride of an earlier generation.

wrong with my temper. It's my enthusiasm I can't control."

OK, OK, Red Dutton and King Clancy keep on antiquity. But what of the Canadiens? Ben Dryden, just named one of the top 50 all-time goalies in the 1970s, Dryden is a rugged, thoughtful man, a graduate in law, the author of two blockbuster books. The Game in 1980 and Power Game in 1993, co-written with Ray MacGregor. And he is soon to give birth to a third book, The Mind and the States, which is set about the country's big movers and shakers but also an ordinary guy in an ordinary job and the trials he faces in or dairy living in Canada these days.

Reflecting on his hockey career, Dryden says that when he and his Canadian teammates began making salaries in six figures, that greatest pleasure was still in the game itself. "At that time I said and firmly believed, that it was just plain, just sitting around, that the dressing room. We just loved to play hockey."

I wondered where that last goal game and the colorful characters with it. I thought of Eddie Shore. How former Boston Bruins on defense, who used to come flying into the ice just before the game in a flowing shiny black cape

a bright spotlight proportioning him like some pro-Italian Batman in the dimmed arena. I told Dryden that his brother had told me about the prints the old Maple Leafs played on one another, wondrous things like cutting mechanics in half or some suchness together. And since an NHL scoring champion had even been held upside down outside a hotel was due by his transmogrified Charlie Conacher.

Dryden believes the current intense scrutiny of the media has curbed the stories. "If Charlie Conacher had done that with Art Bailey it would have gotten international play on television, played really off that. Back then it was a story he had. That's it. Back then, Charlie, now people would say, 'That's child stuff and you would write that it's proxy, stupid behavior. So colorful people get torched. They become more colorless."

Changing times have made a difference. "Once the team won your group, your team by. You spent hours and hours together," Dryden noted. "Teams travelled by train players cooped in a Pullman car for 12 hours and more. Now it's 15 hours and a half on a plane. Also, players have more money; they go further afield; they have opportunities for other interests so that when practices are over they're more likely to go their own way than go out in a group of seven or eight guys. There's less opportunity for those all-state prints."

Talk turned to Dryden's former game, goalkeeping. I said goal was no longer a knees for everyone, owing Jacques Plante, who used to knit tapes between periods. When Plante was coached in Detroit, he was careful in pre-game conversations with the all-star goalie under Terry Sawchuk. "I used to sit beside him before we went on the ice," Ivan said. "I'd shake his hand unconsciously a little switch, over and over. I'd pat my hand on his arm, and I'd talk quietly about anything but hockey."

When young Gilles Gauthier played goal for the old Toronto Toros, he'd do a somatic pre-game of calisthenics before each game and practice, including a series of agenda-town pushups. Dressed in full goalkeeping regalia, Gauthie stood on his head in a shower stall and raised and lowered himself by his arms.

"Cleans the brain," explained Gauthie, 21 at the time a malleable lad from Lachine, Que.

"Sometimes I bring the body to the mat but the head she is somewhere else."

The executives have to sit and tolerate the upside down Dryden points to his blemishes. "With the equipment today the safest place on the ice is up," that's the position that turns the least serious injuries. The low man is literally another blocker. Players such as Belfour, Roy and Price could still play as they did when they knew their bodies were protected. They can't cross their legs, they have to lean and lunge, among the pucks so much better."

And so in hockey now work has grown uncharitable—off the ice or on. Off it, business agents are making the athletes wealthy beyond their dreams. Hardly anybody nowadays is showing off a new leather jacket the one the team left him long.

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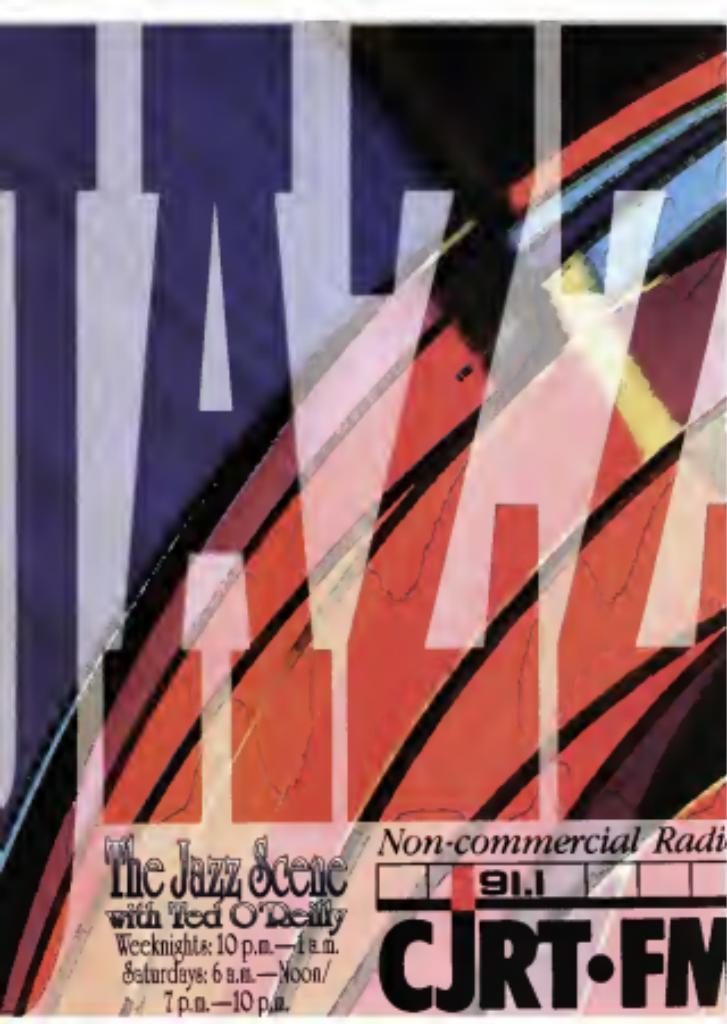
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PEOPLE

Say it ain't so

Michael Jackson according to the popular imagination, lived in a floating world. He has pretentiously white skin and a high-pitched voice, and he lives on an estate surrounded by a high-pitched fence, and he lives on an estate surrounded by a high-pitched fence. But last week, that insouciant world was shattered. In Los Angeles, a 12-year-old boy alleged that Jackson, long involved in charity work for children, had sexually abused him. Police launched a child abuse investigation, questioning other children close to the 35-year-old singer and seizing videotapes and photos at Neverland Ranch, Jackson's on-his-way-to-Disneyland home, deleted any wrongdoing, and his staff claimed that the allegations were part of an elaborate plot. Jackson, at week's end, police said that they had no physical evidence to support the charges against Jackson, but the long-term damage to the reputation of one of the world's best-loved performers remains to be seen. One thing is clear: Michael Jackson, the fantasy is over.

Smeared campaign

It is not your typical rock 'n' roll story. Four guys form a punkish pop band in Halifax, joltingly record a tape in a top U.S. label and land up a *Ultimate Insider* for a disastrous cross-Canada tour in the spring of 1993. Along the way, they smash a van, arrive at cancelled shows and

finally end up

playing for only 30 people at Vancouver's Core

members' Core

</div

California screaming

A 'cyberpunk' has a 21st-century nightmare

VIRTUAL LIGHT
By William Gibson
(Scribner, 325 pages, \$24.95)

More than a few tech-junkies groaned when, in 1991, William Gibson's abandoned "cyberpunk" has an imaginary world beyond the computer screen. That year, after a series of three so-called cyberpunk novels starting with the groundbreaking *Neuromancer* (1984), Gibson made a startling departure: instead of reviving cyberpunk, he shifted to Victorian England with *The Difference Engine*, a wild tale co-authored by Bruce Sterling. But in his latest work, the Vancouver author has gone back to the future. In some respects, *Virtual Light* draws more from current headlines than Gibson's enormously popular cyberpunk works, which explore the information age with the scatological gusto of punk rock. Although the new book takes place in the next decade, it presents a world littered with late-20th-century references. And Gibson seems more intent on doing readers a service than a analysis of the present than a blank vision of the future.

In *Virtual Light*, Gibson reworks the traditional come-uppance plot, adding a thick web of cyborgs and anti-heroes about technology. Set in the year 2005, the novel grows tamer when female bicycle courier Cheezy Washington steals a party's property by a distance ladder and steals a pair of glasses from his pocket as revenge. Unknown to her, the glasses are actually a precious commodity: Cheezy has the ability to see "neuro" images. What's more, they are not "programmed" with assigned主人。As in the computer-generated world of cyberpunk, data are present everywhere in *Virtual Light's* California of the near future.

Berry Stylin, a paid ex-con from Tennessee, returns the day when he becomes close to Lincoln Wetherby, the beauty queen he used to retrieve the glasses. When Stylin discovers that Wetherby is part of a conspiracy surrounding the glasses, he switches allegiance, fleeing with Washington



Gibson portraying a world slouching towards destruction

and the stolen property—whose original owner has been killed. With the help of some rebel hackers, the dynamic trio take on corrupt cops and a Central American drug and information cartel. They also discover love among the ruins.

Gibson's world 22 years from now is slouching towards destruction. California, divided into the three water states of NaCo and SoCal, is in ruins. Faded, a major metropolis, San Francisco Bay, has become a makeshift refugee village—home to hundreds of refugees, including Cheezy Washington. The community has the look of an anarchist commune, with urban gardens, sheep, wild strawberries and laundry hung during the bright, asexual day.

The entire Wetherby world has degenerated into a disturbingly familiar wasteland where high-tech toys exist alongside peasant violence, environmental disasters and

executive greed. Television is an escape for the masses who keep themselves otherwise amused with body-snatching, designer drugs and other forms of self-delusion. The tone of alienation is set in the first chapter, in which a nervous man sits in a sterile Mexican fast-food joint, quaffing Japanese vodka and watching a Japanese pornography. Outside, in the hazy sun of the穰穰 city, the man says, "The dry flakes of legal snow follow us from the sun."

Gibson's language is the logical outcome of a disintegrating world—and he is not alone. Yet some of the details of *Virtual Light* are highly unusual. Stylin's hypnotherapist partner, Joe Saldana, has fallen away from a video and that believes God's word is revealed through hypnosis. And Gibson's comments on the uses of technology are often oddly offbeat: in one scene, a venusian tries to move her dead husband's brain to a more luxurious cryogenic facility where it can stay intact in divine grande took.

Surprisingly, the author who has become a hero in computer hackers' circles in *Virtual Light* as a champion of the tech no-punks in the age of Internet time. He allows the low-tech good guys to conquer the high-tech bad guys, and thoughtful analysis to beat out glib predictions. For Gibson also seems to suggest that technology can save humans from the horrors wrought by their own technological recklessness. The main character in *Neuromancer* were later invented eyes as a "salve" instrument. In *Virtual Light* such an invention is used to avoid all information radiation from the sun.

As it carries readers along on an often gripping—if somewhat dense—narrative, *Virtual Light* does offer elements of hope. One character, James Shapley, carries a radio-destine unit of art that eventually saves its主人 from dying of art. Common sense and human instinct manage to prevail over gadgets. And the creative urge that propels society towards the stage of destruction, Gibson argues, also has the power to save. The hackers who have stolen his undermine the foundations of Gibson's information-based society, in need of a new leader to help define the political function of art in cultural education.

Despite the futuristic garage and the technological complexity of the world that Gibson describes, the novel's strength lies in how it recalls the epic story of the battle between the forces of light and darkness. The outcome is never in doubt—the hackers and the lasers will triumph. But Gibson knows that his book wouldn't have it any other way.

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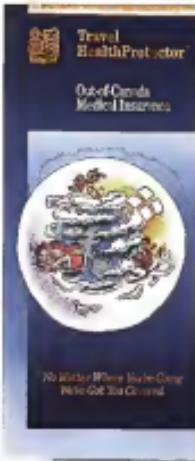
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ROYAL BANK

True believers

Across the country, God comes in many forms

GOD'S DOMINION
(C&G, Sept. 5, 1911, p.

Writers and thinkers have often described the late 20th century as a golden age. Yet a new BBC series suggests that many Catholics still yearn for a restful, bucolic past for the comforts and challenges of religion. The four-part, five-hour documentary series *God's Country* looks at Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews and New Age seekers with some evenhandedness and informed journalism. Ian Gibson's bestselling 1990 book of the same name, however, is more polemical. In almost every section, he claims that his almost exclusively Catholic subjects have an actually failing to find *real God*. Instead, professor Tim Renshaw, the Gothic in the book's concentration on the reasons people take up the search in the first place. As a result, God's Country suggests that one 1000

the feminist movement is still in its adolescent stage, and that women who argue for greater role in the church are simply too immature to know what is best for them.

Anthonie's crude paternalism has received some opposition, at one point the campaign over a small crowd plotting against his church for more liberal policies. But probably Anthonie's picketers are there too, as the archbishop knows, there will always be those who take the church's sayings seriously in pride of righteousness.

just as good as another: they all provide a place where like-minded people can find a sense of meaning and community.

Graham's link between *thirsting* and *desirousness*—which the show's iteration measures several times—is crucial to *God's* *Desire*. The series is founded on the premise that people find it easier to believe something if others around them believe in it, particularly if those others are people of authority. The show's title character, Graham, is the *thirsty* one, the one who wants to believe in God. The other characters are the ones who are *desirous* of him, the ones who want him to believe in God. The show's title character, Graham, is the *thirsty* one, the one who wants to believe in God. The other characters are the ones who are *desirous* of him, the ones who want him to believe in God.

Michael's calm independence is a rarity in the first two programs of *God's Bowmen*, which concentrate on faults where a central authority rules many details of people's private lives. The second episode follows Anne Goldberg, a 25-year-old Matriarch who becomes a *Lohorah*—a member of a heavily pietistic, deeply conservative branch of Judaism that demands adherence to 613 commandments. In the same program, a 29-year-old Matriarch Barbra Kellerman, considers her options before committing herself to the faith of her husband.



Illustrations in Mattheson's *Lehrbuch*: a sense of community

ders. Farmers hold all property in common and follow the occupations chosen for them by the community's male leaders. Even more than the Luhavachans, they must sacrifice their individuality for the sake of the common good.

After the first two paragraphs, with their depictions of older males holding

at all the positions of authority, the flood has brought a welcome fresh breath in the person of a new United Church minister, Monica Moore. The attractive young woman is struggling to revive a flagging congregation in Northern Ontario. At odds with her doomsday United Church flock are the black and white "purists," she says agreeably, who face across from her in the former United Church minister, Mike George. St. Leo's, a Congregational Church—a group dissatisfied with the United Church's liberal position on "harmless" homosexuality. The senior pastor, Rev. Dr. Alberta evangelist McLeod, is a man who believes that an atheist Canadian government is helping to bring the pain and destruction. McLeod is chosen to succeed a thin, sick, senior, nonbelieving, much-

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The bottom line on the Mulroney years

BY STEWART MACLEOD

Much of the credit must go to Brian Mulroney. Then, fasten your seatbelts, didn't it? But you think we can't spell blarney.

Moving right along, the upflipping logic for today is one more and refreshingly innocent in perspective. Not only has the press, Canada's unique form of price-tag journalism, it has clearly brought Parliament closer to the people. After years of maneuvering, merrymaking about \$25-billion in budgetary dollar debauch and such doofusoid phrases as "What's a cutback?", we're finally getting back to comprehensible price tags.

Not all the credit belongs to Mr. Mulroney, of course. But it's probably a safe bet that history will record him as the most effective leader, and most price-tag appropriate. We can ignore his contributions back to 1985 when, as a New York City tourist, one of his staff occupied a \$1,200-a-night suite at a swank hotel.

They probably didn't pay that much mind you. How else can you explain who paid the posted-on-the-door price for hotel rooms? However, as far as his consequence, blarney gave us a price tag. That's the ticket.

Then, of course, there were the numerous \$100-plus checks and all those scandalous details, and gossips about the cost of shelving \$1 for whatever pairs of Gucci shoes. Average price, consecutive annual wear and tear was according to the estimate, about \$175. Price tags when used in political contexts don't have to be official. Nor, we might add, particularly accurate.

The Mulroney tendency to travel first-class, along with Mike's dishing effect and her unprecedented, if not a government of her, played an important role in our press's fixation with price-tag journalism. And it was all brought to a blinding clarity when, after leaving office, the Mulroneys offered the no-

From the shoe bank to the art bank, the nation grew accustomed to the stories you can put a price on

tion a batch of leisure furniture for \$400,000.

The room leather doesn't mean it was, well, inferior. In fact, Prime Minister Kim Campbell, and it sounded like a bit of a blarney, for taxpayers' trouble is, we're second to know who paid for it in the first place.

Perhaps it was a deal. But at this price-tag era when taxpayers' money is involved, there's obviously no such thing as a bargain. While the National Capital Commission, which ran Mr. Mulroney's \$150,000 check, and it had apparently ranging from \$170,000 to \$337,000, two Ottawa taxpayers had independent appraisers estimate the price of the leather and both declared a rapid if considerable proportion.

Suddenly, we had price tags coming out our ears. Journalistic heave! And it's called debt to boot.

Then, from an unexpected source, we quickly evolved even more reason. The all-reddish Senate, at the eye of the summer recess, gave us a miraculously manageable figure of \$6,000 to play with. This was the sensible, sensible Senate's decision, that should be made available to them for additional living expenses.

Now, if there's one Canadian institution that's ripe for price-tagging it's the Senate. That venerable institution, as you know, has the odd critic. And the outburst of snarling that greeted the \$6,000 was a spectacle to behold. Here was a figure we could understand to be with the fact that the Senate costs us \$60 million a year to maintain. That amount is too fit to be relevant. Anyway, it was a humbled group of senators who recurred to cancel that particular price tag. But the damage had been done. The tag had been seen.

Incidentally, can you imagine anyone daring to put a price tag on royal visits, say, 30 years ago? No way. Yet last year, when the Queen came for our July 1 celebrations we were nearly into price-tagging and the biggest story by far was for the hot儿 chartered Concorde airline—which cost three hours off a scheduled transatlantic flight—cost us \$480,000. But there's no point in dwelling on it—or in estimating how many more July 1 cross-Canada trips Prime Minister Campbell could make with that kind of money.

And what about the new addition to the National Gallery, the Mackintosh work, consisting of two rectangles which cost us \$1.2 million? The gnawing of teeth following that purchase represents price-tag mania at its best, just as it did when the same gallery bought *River of Fire* for \$2.7 million three years ago. That's when Mr. Felix Hockman, then the chairman of the Commons cultural affairs committee, proclaimed that he could afford the work with two cuts of pain: a piece of plywood and a ruler.

For the new work, with the cutby rule of No. 16, Mr. Hockman said he might need to add a third board of Scotch.

Well, you can't afford to offend the Queen around Ottawa. It was that same sense of Garage by the Mulroneys that the art director seems to be having because his constituents, perhaps unaware of your price-tag obsession, were picking up tabs. Sadly, we had to settle for the million-dollar farewell tour. That's the modern way of admitting we don't know the price.

But we do know that former external affairs minister Barbara McDougall paid \$23,000 for portraits of herself to hang in Canadian embassies around the world. The fact that she quit office before distribution added a bit of starch to the price tag. And, for once, we conclude appraisers estimate the price of the leather and both declared a rapid if considerable proportion.

And in case you think that environmentalist Paul Watson gave his private jet to New Zealand embassies as an outright gift, let's set the record straight. Watson's no plucky therapist; he said it was for one home and a bottle of New Zealand

That's the truth. It comes to you courtesy of the new price-tag journalism.

Alice Fotheringham is an columnist.

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